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THE DELPHIAN CLUB.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERARY HISTORY OF BALTIMORE
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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So significant was the development of American Literature in New England during the third and fourth decades of the past century that in the study of our country's literary history this revival to the north of us has completely overshadowed an earlier efflorescence in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Philadelphia, in the first part of the century, was known as the Athens of America. Almost equal to it as a city of active literary culture was Baltimore. In Baltimore, among literary men of greater or less national prominence were Edward C. Pinkney, Rufus Dawes, John Neal, John Pierpont, Francis Scott Key, John Howard Payne, Samuel Woodworth, John P. Kennedy, Paul Allen, William Gwynn, Tobias Watkins, Peter H. Cruse, Henry M. Brackenridge, Jared Sparks, William Pinkney, William Winder, Robert G. Harper, and Luther Martin—poets, novelists, essayists, journalists, and orators.

This literary activity of Baltimore centered about a literary club, organized on August 31, 1816, known as the Delphian Club. A careful record of the meetings of this club was kept by its secretary, Doctor John Didier Readel. Only in the last

few years has this record been made available for study. On April 29, 1920, it was presented to the Maryland Historical Society and revealed an incident in American literary history the details of which had been hidden for practically a century.

The record shows that the club existed, with a lapse of two years, 1822 and 1823, until 1825. The constitution of the club, which is contained in the first few pages of the first volume of the record, has appended to it a list of the names of the members. These names, in the order in which they appear, are as follows: William Sinclair, John D. Readell, Tobias Watkins, James H. McCulloh, John Pierpont, Horace H. Hayden, John Neal, J. D. Learned, E. Denison, H. M. Brackenridge, Paul Allen, William Gwynn, William H. Winder, Thomas Maund, J. T. Ducatel, and John H. B. Latrobe. Latrobe joined the Club on July 10, 1824. He writes, in a letter recorded in Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 184, that he was the "last that was installed with the ancient ceremony." We find elsewhere, however, that other men were at least associated with the Club. J. Thomas Scharf, in his history of Baltimore, published in 1881, names Robert G. Harper, Francis Scott Key, Samuel Woodworth, William Wirt, John Howard Payne, Rembrandt Peale, Peter H. Cruse, and John P. Kennedy. In Semmes' *Life of Latrobe* we find that Latrobe names William West, Fielding Lucas, Francis Foster, William Frick, John Cole, Colonel Hamilton, Sheridan Knowles and Philip Laurenson.

The founders of the Club were the first seven men whose names are signed to the constitution. The membership never exceeded nine at any one time. They called their organization the Delphian Club after the oracle at Delphi, and the president was supposed to be a representative of Apollo. Each member had as a consort one of the Muses. In this way the Club maintained a pseudo-classical background which gave them considerable amusement. By a great stretch of the imagination they declared that their Club had been founded in 1420 B. C. and included among its members such persons as Alexander the

Great and Julius Caesar. In referring to the Club, they called it "this here ancient and reputable Club." They invited various prominent men who were living at their own time to become honorary members, among others Lord Byron. The records contain the letter of invitation written to Byron, but there is no evidence of a reply.

The purpose of the Club was two-fold: first, to foster the interest of the members in literary and scientific pursuits; secondly, to amuse their leisure hours. These two purposes are expressed in the Preface to the *Tales of the Tripod*, written by the president, or Tripod, Tobias Watkins. He writes,

"All the world . . . must have heard of the Delphian Club. It is a very ancient and reputable knot, of the best fellows in the world, as notorious for their love of fun, as Delphi was for the truth of its oracles, and as fervent in their worship of Apollo, as the flamens who ministered in his temples. But stop: there are secrets in the Club, and I must not open the doors of the fane too wide. . . . It is the custom, at every hebdomadal session of the club, for any member who has had the time during the week to cater for the general stock, to spread the fruits of his toil upon the table."

In general, the Club was organized and promoted for the purpose of enabling persons who were congenial to enjoy their mutual interest in literature and to stimulate one another to contribute to the progress of American letters. It is true that they indulged in pleasantries, in the manufacture of puns and epigrams and epitaphs and humorous stories, many of which are preserved in the records, but they have also handed down in the same records many well-written essays and poems.

Much of this work, as well as other contributions made by the Delphians, appeared in the *Portico*, a literary magazine published in Baltimore, of which Tobias Watkins, president of the Delphian Club, was editor. This magazine appeared from 1816 to 1818. So closely were the Delphians allied with it that, at the thirty-second session of the Club, they drew up a by-law which reads,

"A sheet of paper shall be furnished by the member providing refreshments for the club, on which each Delphian shall be bound in honor to write such of his own thoughts as he may consider fit to appear in the scientific, witty, historical, poetical, erudite, widely circulated, and no-doubt-still-more-widely to be circulated *Portico* of the learned President, and that such thoughts shall be entitled 'wise sayings of a knot of queer fellows.'"

The Delphians also made contributions to the *Journal of the Times*, a daily newspaper of which Paul Allen was editor.

In addition to such work, they have left behind substantial contributions to journalism, fiction, poetry, history, and science. In fact, from the pen of the sixteen men actually recorded as members of the Club—let alone the numerous associates—there are extant at least forty-eight books of fiction, history, travel, letters, or biography; nine volumes of poetry; one drama; nineteen speeches; and there were twelve newspapers or magazines of which the editors were members of the Delphian Club.

Of the poets in the Club, including the associates, five have made their way into Stedman's Anthology. They are John Pierpont, who has six poems there; John Neal, who has two; Samuel Woodworth, two; Francis Scott Key, one; John Howard Payne, one.

These facts are imposing enough to show that the Club succeeded in its purpose to inspire its members with a love for literature and with an ambition to offer to American letters some worthy contributions of their own.

The fulfillment of this purpose is further illustrated in the enthusiasm which the members felt for the Club and in their realization of its aims. John Neal began his literary career in the Delphian Club. Many years afterwards, in 1867, in *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, pages 44 ff. and 173 ff., he described the Club in great detail, concluding with these remarks:

"The Delphians were a great help to one another; and all to me, in a thousand ways. I have already given some account

of them as debaters, but, as writers, they were more or less distinguished, even the nervous and excitable Winder having managed to bring forth, and publish, in Paul Allen's 'Journal of the Times,' for which I also wrote profusely, a capital outline, 'History of Maryland.'"

Scharf, in his *Baltimore—City—County*, page 642, makes some statements about the Club which, although not entirely accurate, yet are interesting because they are the comments of a man who must have been acquainted, long after the Club had ceased to exist, with some of the former members.

"Until the time of the formation of the Delphian Club there was no class of professional writers, historians, novelists, and poets. The papers of the Delphian Club, such as are still extant and to be found in the *Red Book*, a periodical published in Baltimore, 1818-1819, may be compared favorably with the best of their kind in the language. Among the members of this Club was John Neal, a brilliant and erratic writer, who was drawn subsequently from Baltimore by the greater attraction of London; William Gwynn, editor and author, who presided at the Club; Paul Allen, the historian; Robert Goodloe Harper; John Pierpont, author of *Airs of Palestine*; Francis Scott Key, author of *The Star-Spangled Banner*; Samuel Woodworth, author of *The Old Oaken Bucket*; William Wirt, the eminent lawyer and orator and biographer of Patrick Henry, and other eminent men. Here also, John Howard Payne, author of *Home, Sweet Home* was hidden and protected from a mob. Here also, Rembrandt Peale, the well-known American artist, who painted in Baltimore his famous picture, 'The Court of Death'; Peter Hoffman Cruse, editor and author; and John Pendleton Kennedy, the favorite Baltimore author of *Swallow Barn*, entertained the wits of the day."

In connection with this passage from Scharf, it may be said that none of the papers of the Delphian Club are to be found in the *Red Book*. A few appeared in the *Portico* and in the *Journal of the Times*, and all are preserved in the records of the Club.

During the years recorded in the minutes, the Club met every Saturday night at six-thirty at the offices or homes of the various members, most of whom lived in the neighborhood of St. Paul, Lexington, Calvert, and Baltimore Streets. The place of meeting, for the benefit of those members who were absent at the preceding meeting, was posted in the *Federal Gazette* every Saturday. The following is a good example of such a notice.

DELPHIAN CLUB

The Delphians will hold their LVII session this evening, at half past six o'clock, at the house of Solomon Fitz-Quizz, O.D.C.

By order

VON CRAMBOGRAPH, S.T.L. D.C.

In the later years of the Club, many of the meetings were held at the home of William Gwynn, who lived in Bank Lane near St. Paul Street, in a building known as the Tusculum. Apparently after August, 1824, at which time the records cease, members and friends of the Club continued to meet, always at the Tusculum. The reason for this belief is, first, that Scharf, who was born in 1843, and who in the early seventies was gathering material for *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, when the Tusculum was still standing and when the traditions of the Delphian Club were still vivid, says, on page 642 of his *Baltimore—City—County*,

"In the rear of Barnum's Hotel, quite suffocated, there faces on Bank Lane a shabby but pretentious little house, all portico and stucco, yet dignified by five stately elms. This was the house called by the literati 'Tusculum,' and by the rabble 'Gwynn's Folly,' where assembled the earliest literary club that has left behind it any good work."

Secondly, Latrobe, who was elected in 1824, only a few months before the secretary's record of the Club stops, refers to the organization, Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 186, as if it continued to meet for some time at the Tusculum. He writes,

"I have mentioned the rooms of the Flamen—they were in

a graceful little building, designed by Robert Carey Long, in the rear of the Gazette office, and called the Tusculum; and here would collect many of the choice spirits of the day, over champagne paid for by assessments of fifty cents on each person present. At these meetings Mr. Gwynn presided, and we used to meet many a clever man, now long since dead."

In other words, Latrobe recalled the meetings as presided over by William Gwynn. Since Gwynn was not made president until late in 1824, and since the meetings were not held regularly in the Tusculum before September, 1824, and since the Club was, in Latrobe's memory, closely associated with the Tusculum, it may be concluded that, after 1824, even though we have no further record of the meetings, members of the Club continued to meet—always at the Tusculum.

Another significant description we have of this building may be found in the *Red Book* of November 5, 1819:

"I am known to the public only as Pantagrue. My place of residence is called Tusculum. It stands in a part of the town where it would require an Ariadne to find it. Since I am upon the subject I will describe it. The situation is all I could wish, central and retired. My principal front is upon an alley, and a gate intervenes between the door and the narrow pavement. It is a little palace resembling in appearance some of those delicate, princely pasteboard castles from which our play-house kings stalk forth to take the air. . . . I have the most lovely pillars which sustain my outspreading roof—a balustrade, architrave, frieze, cornice, aerostyle. On either side of a large majestic glass door, which opens upon the adytum of my temple are two small rooms: one my study, the other my hall of audience. In the first may be seen the learned confusion of plans, pamphlets, and commentaries—maps and globes—sketches of the moon—scraps for the *Red Book*—strictures upon women—Montaigne, Cervantes, and Sterne peering through the glasses of a polished book case and contrasted with Bacon, Boyle, Locke, who occupy an obscure recess on the other side. In the second apartment may be seen the comforts of a

neat little parlor, with its shining mahogany table, that has served as the altar upon which good fellowship has made many a libation."

This was no doubt written by John P. Kennedy, who was co-editor with Peter H. Cruse of the *Red Book*. Aside from being a good description of the Tusculum, it indicates Kennedy's close connection with William Gwynn, who lived at the Tusculum, and indirectly with the members of the Delphian Club.

This building was torn down in 1891. A short time before, a photograph of it was taken, one copy of which has been preserved by Mr. Richard M. Duvall.

It was at this place that the Delphian Club flourished at its best. It was at this place that the Delphians debated, wrote, feasted, and played.

William Sinclair, the first president, resigned from the Club just a few weeks after its founding. A description of him may be found in Tuckerman's *Life of John P. Kennedy*, page 37, wherein Kennedy says that he endeavored to give a sketch of Sinclair in Parson Chubb of *Swallow Barn*. Sinclair was one of the founders of the old Baltimore College, which later became the University of Maryland. The speech which he delivered on this occasion has come down to us in a thin volume printed by Richard J. Matchett, in 1812.

It is to John Didier Readell (1790-1854), the secretary of the Club, that we are indebted for the excellent record that was kept of the meetings about which I shall have more to say later. He was a physician, having received his training at the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1811. Immediately afterwards he went abroad to study in Europe. On his return he became very active in the Masonic fraternity and on November 20, 1848, was elected Grand Master of Maryland. His literary work consists of a few poems and essays preserved in the *Portico*.

Tobias Watkins (1780-1855), from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, was elected president of the Club after Sinclair's

resignation. Watkins was a physician, and, according to Cordell's *Medical Annals of Maryland*, was a charter member of the Medical Society of Maryland. He established a medical monthly, *The Medical and Physical Recorder*, and afterwards edited the *Portico*. He was appointed by President Adams assistant surgeon-general in the United States army, secretary of the Spanish Commission, and auditor in the Treasury Department.

As president of the Delphian Club, Watkins was called the Tripod. This name was due to a motion made by Readell, September 27, 1817, "that the President should not be referred to as the chair, because sons of Apollo should have nothing to do with a chair. He should be said to fill a tripod." It is this word that appears in the title of Watkins' work, *Tales of the Tripod*. This consists of three stories, two of them being stories about Paul Allen, told at meetings of the Club. The details are very obscure except to a person who has read the details in the record of the Club. The third story, the first one in the book, Watkins says is translated from an anonymous German correspondent of the *Lesefruchte*. In fact, it is a literal translation from the German writer Zschokke, who was very popular at the time.

John Neal gives a lengthy description of Watkins in *Wandering Recollections*, pages 207 to 210. Neal concludes,

"The last time I saw him, he was keeping a common school, in an old tumble-down brick building, one of a large block, in Alexandria; and though evidently impoverished, and well stricken in years, and more serious than I had ever seen him, he appeared to be both submissive and resigned, uttering no word of complaint or reproach, and looking as if, though ready to go, if called for, he was not weary of life, nor in any hurry for the translation."

About James H. McCulloh, we possess little information other than that given us in Cordell's *Annals*. He was a physician, having been graduated in the class of 1814 at the University of Pennsylvania. At the battle of North Point, Sep-

tember 12, 1814, in the defense of Baltimore, he was wounded. Later he was elected to the Maryland Senate. His literary work consists of "Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, Concerning the Aboriginal History of America," Baltimore, 1829; and "Evidences and Doctrine of the Christian Religion," 1856.

McCulloh's club name, Kenuckkofritz, is signed to the crude water-color sketches which abound in the records of the Club. It was he, too, who designed, for the members in their pretensions at knighthood, the armorial bearings which are sketched in the records.

John Pierpont (1785-1866) was a New Englander. He came to Baltimore as a member of the dry-goods firm of which the other members were his brother-in-law, Joseph L. Lord, and John Neal. The firm failed and Pierpont, the grandfather of John Pierpont Morgan, was sent to jail for bankruptcy. After a few years in Baltimore, he went to Harvard where he prepared for the Unitarian ministry. Later he became pastor of the Hollis Street Church at Boston.

At his last meeting with the Delphians, April 25, 1818, Pierpont announced his intentions to leave the city. According to the records he said,

"It is my union with this band of Delphians that binds me more strongly than I am bound by the joint action of all other ties, to the city of Baltimore: of Baltimore, where I have seen a few of the brightest and many of the darkest hours of my life.

"Wherever my fortunes may hereafter throw me, the memory of every Delphian will remain deeply and legibly engraven on my heart, while the lamp of life shall burn in my bosom, throwing its sepulchral light around upon the wrecks of hope, and the tomb of momentary joys."

Pierpont was a poet of no mean ability, his best-known long poem being *The Airs of Palestine*. His muse may be attested by these few lines from the poem:

I love to breathe where Gilead sheds her balm;
I love to walk on Jordan's banks of palm;

I love to wet my foot in Herman's dew;
I love the promptings of Isaiah's muse:
In Carmel's holy grotts I'll court repose,
And deck my mossy couch with Sharon's deathless rose.

Of Pierpont's six poems in Stedman's Anthology one is Warren's *Address to the American Soldiers*, which every schoolboy used to know:

Stand! the ground's your own, my braves!
Will ye give it up to slaves?
Will ye look for greener graves?
Hope ye mercy still?

Another one is *The Ballot*:

A weapon that comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
But executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God.

According to Cordell, Horace H. Hayden (1769-1844) shared with Doctor Chapin A. Harris the honor of being the founder of Dental Science in America. It is said that his lectures at the University of Maryland, 1837, were the first scientific dental lectures ever given. In 1839, he founded the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. In 1840 he founded the American Society of Dental Surgeons and became its first president. Like several of the other Delphians he was in the Battle of North Point.

His literary work consists of one volume, *Geological Essays*, published in Baltimore by Robinson in 1820.

John Neal (1793-1876) came to Baltimore with Pierpont and Lord to establish himself in business. When the business failed, 1815, he turned to law and journalism and wrote for the *Portico*, the *Baltimore Telegraph*, and the *Journal of the Times*. His resignation from the Delphian Club is characteristic of him. After a Boston man, whom Neal put forward

for honorary membership, had been rejected by the Delphians, Neal wrote to the Club:

" Baltimore, 9th January, 1820.

Delphians!

I am sorry to be under the necessity of taking my leave of you. This is not the commonplace language of compliment. I do feel an unaffected regret at parting; from a society too with which I have associated for more than three years—from the hour of its institution.

"In an evil hour I made a promise, which it is my duty—I owe it to myself at least—to observe; and I shall observe it religiously. I have spent many—very many pleasant hours among you—hours that I shall always recall with feelings of delight and I would continue, as I always hoped to—to live and die with you, had I not involved myself too much for any but this, by trusting to a mistaken estimate of my influence among you; and for that reason alone, I now take my leave of you, one and all, with feelings of sincere respect.

"I have not mentioned this purpose before, because I would not influence your decision upon the subject that has just been before you, and because I would not be charged with presumption in supposing that any thing I could do would have any influence over your deliberation.

I am, Delphians, with sentiments
of genuine friendship and respect,
Yours—nevertheless

Jehu O'Cataract."

Apropos of this letter Readell, who had been the only person to support Neal in the election of the honorary member whom Neal had proposed, wrote in the minutes: "By this act of Clubicular Suicide has Jehu O'Cataract been divested of immortality and of several offices of importance in this Here Ancient, Reputable Club; Sic transit gloria mundi."

Between 1817 and 1823, while Neal was in Baltimore, he wrote five novels, two long poems, and a drama. From 1825

to 1833, he wrote four more novels and contributed numerous articles to British and Scotch periodicals. From 1854 to 1874, he wrote miscellaneous works, including one novel and his autobiography, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*.

His poetry has power, but it is guilty of great vagueness. This fact is true particularly of his two long poems, "The Battle of Niagara" and "Goldau." Many passages bear quoting, especially the following from *Niagara*. This is a description of an elusive "troop of tall horsemen," who, in the night, make an attack upon the British.

'Tis a helmeted band! from the hills they descend
Like the monarchs of storm, when the forest trees bend.
No scimitars swing as they gallop along:
No clattering hoof falls sudden and strong:
No trumpet is filled, and no bugle is blown:
No banners abroad on the wind are thrown:

.
But they speed like coursers whose hoofs are shod,
With a silent shoe from the loosen'd sod:
Like the steeds that careen, o'er the billowy surf,
Or stretch like the winds o'er the untrodden turf."

A fierce fight ensues; then—

"Away they have gone!—and their path is all red,
Hedged in by two lines of the dying and dead;
By bosoms that burst unrevenged in the strife—
By swords that yet shake in the passing of life—
For so swift had that pageant of darkness sped—
So like a trooping of cloud-mounted dead—
That the flashing reply, of the foe that was cleft,
But fell on the shadows these troopers had left."

Neal's prose is like his poetry; its virtue lies in its strength and swiftness of expression; its fault lies generally in its obscurity. One of the best passages, unfortunately a digression,

is contained in the novel, *Seventy-Six*, written in Baltimore and published here in 1823. It is decidedly swift and lucid:

My father was a pacific, mild, kind-hearted man; and if I add to this, that after he removed from Providence Plantations to the Jerseys, he never saw blood drawn, till the flame of the revolution had broken out, you will then know about all that any man knows of his early life. Till within the last ten years of his life, there was the same plain, unpretending, substantial good sense in all that he did; and during many years that we lived together, I do not remember that I ever saw him in a passion but twice or three times; and the first left such an impression on my mind, that I will relate it—it was on seeing my good mother, in the pride of her beauty, equipped in a new calico gown, flowered all over with yellow and blue roses, about the size of cabbages,—after the new importation confederacy had been adopted.—The affair had been managed secretly, and my mother might have passed it all off, without the loss of her finery, or the rebuke that she received, had she been able to suppress, a little more, her natural spirit for display; but unfortunately, she could not, and she had passed, and repassed, before my father, during the first day, so frequently, in her flaming ruffles and furbelows, that human patience could endure it no longer—"Peggy," said my father, "What is the meaning of this?" She smiled, colored, bridled a little, turned about, so as to exhibit all the proportions of her finely turned waist—before she answered.

"O, my dear," she said coaxingly, "only a little *spec* of mine; I was going to drink tea, with our neighbor Arnould, and I thought—"

"Drink tea!" said my father, shutting his Bible, with a clap that made me start—and standing erect. You remember his height—few men carried such a front with them, and of all our blood, he was the tallest I believe.—"Drink *tea*, Peggy—Do you not know, child, that tea is one of the prohibited things?"

My father alluded to the confederacy that had just been

entered into, by all the substantial men of the country, some in shame, some in terror, and some from downright honesty and virtue, not to purchase or consume any article whatever, supplied by the mother country to the colonies, and tea was one of the enumerated articles.

My mother turned pale, I remember, but continued for a moment or two to defend the visit and tea drinking stoutly—but my father was immovable.

"Woman!" said he, putting his large hand kindly, but authoritatively, upon her shoulder—"While you are my wife, not one cup of tea shall pass your lips—unless the confederacy be abandoned."

"High times indeed!" said my mother, bouncing away from his hand, (she was the younger, by at least twelve years; and that gave her an advantage, not to be overlooked by a handsome and adroit woman). "High times, indeed, when a body cannot be allowed to take a drop of tea for medicine."

"A drop of hell fire!" cried my father, stamping with wrath—"a woman of America! the wife of Jonathan Oadley—whose husband has signed a paper with his own blood, calling down the anger of God upon his house, and his wife, and children, if he kept it not—shall she be the first to laugh his obligation to scorn—give his household to destruction and her husband's name to dishonor, O, for shame!"

I am sure, even now, that, had my father been less violent, by a little, than he was, there would have been no trouble in the affair; but my mother was a high spirited woman, remarkably well-bred for the time, and had married him, in the face and eyes of all her family.

"Ye—ye—yes," said she sobbing—"just what I expected. I was always t—t—told so—I—"

"That I was a tyrant?" said my father, gently. "No, Peggy, no—I am no tyrant—but much as I love you, and that boy yonder, I would rather lose you both, rather see you taking a mortal poison, *both* of you, than a cup of this accursed tea:—but what is this—what is the meaning of this?" (taking hold

of the long ruffle, or flounce, at the elbow of her glittering calico)—“new is it, Peggy!—”

My mother held down her head, whether in shame and mortification, or in sullenness, I know not—but there was an awful stillness for a minute or two,—and then my father went up to her, and took her in his arms and kissed her, like some high priest, about to offer up some living creature that he loved, in sacrifice.

He was very pale, and, after uttering a few words, my mother began very reluctantly, to unfasten her girdle.—My notion was from my own experience in such matters and the sternness of his countenance, and the terror and shame in hers, that he was going to beat her, and I began to cry lustily; but they gave no heed to my bawling, and I never stopped until I had seen the beautiful calico gown, torn into five hundred pieces, and burned in the fire—my mother clad anew in a dark brown cotton of her own weaving, and my father sitting by her, with his arm around her waist, and her head leaning upon his shoulder, full of affection and duty.

In his discussion of American writers in *Blackwood's*, Neal comments on himself as follows:

“Abounding throughout in absurdity, intemperance, affectation, extravagance—with continued involuntary imitation: yet, nevertheless, containing altogether more sincere poetry, more exalted, original, pure poetry, than *all* the works of all the other authors that have ever appeared in America.”

In Volume I, page 139, of his novel *Randolph*, published anonymously in 1823, in a letter devoted to a description of American writers including Paul Allen, Washington Irving, Paulding, Everett, Pierpont, Dana, Percival, Walsh, and Walter, Neal describes himself:

“He has great power, and a good heart, which, if it is not dampened by continual disappointment and kept down by a mighty pressure, at the hazard of crushing all its principles of vitality, will either purify itself, at last, in its own fires, or

be consumed to ashes. . . . He is a Yankee too—a self-educated man—born in Maine—whose whole life has been a tissue of wild and beautiful adventures.

“He is about five feet, eight or nine—well made—light brown hair, light complexion; small, clear, severe, blue eyes—large mouth—very high forehead—stooping in his gait; about thirty now, with a settled expression of haughtiness and proud discontent—in his very tread, look, and tone. He is certainly unamiable, and, in the opinion of women, very ungenteel; exceedingly loud, positive, abrupt, and imperious, and yet I am told that no human creature is gentler—or fuller of frolic—or more of a boy than he, when he is at home with them that have long known him. His contempt for the world is very natural. . . . They say that he is overbearing and quarrelsome: and if so, of course, he is cowardly. The public opinion is very much against him. . . . Let him learn a little discretion—subdue his hot temper, hurry less, in his manifestation of feeling, and—who knows if he may not die a very decent sort of man.”

This self-satisfaction is in part justified. What he has written deserves a better reward than complete oblivion. He was distinguished enough in his day to prompt Lowell to write, in his *Fable for Critics*:

“There swaggers John Neal,
In letters, too soon is as bad as too late,
Could he only have waited, he might have been great.”

Paul Allen, in the Club records for January, 1820, describes Neal in doggerel:

A few light spirits often gain
A lodging in O’Cataract’s brain;
The muses see the horrid sight
And fly off in a sudden fright!
Apollo’s self alarmed with fear,
Says, “I’ll be damned if I stay here.”

John Neal’s life crosses with that of the poet, Edward Coote Pinkney, in a very unpleasant way. Pinkney was not a mem-

ber of the Delphian Club, nor, as far as is known, was he ever a visitor, at least not before the time Neal resigned. In fact, Neal and Pinkney apparently were never acquainted personally.

The trouble between them began over Neal's publication of *Randolph*, which, like *Seventy-Six*, was written in Baltimore but published in Philadelphia in 1823. This novel appeared anonymously. In it were descriptions of many Americans, particularly Baltimoreans. In a description of William Pinkney, the father of Edward Coote Pinkney, Neal was particularly scurrilous. This description begins in Volume II, page 235, of *Randolph*.

Although it attempts to be fair, that is, contains much that is favorable to the orator, many statements are insulting. Several of them are as follows:

"His deportment is brutal, arrogant, 'full of sound and fury'; accompanied with the rude and violent gesture of a vulgar fellow."

"Never gentlemanly."

He is a "thick stout man, with a red, fat English face remarkable for nothing at all—apparently about forty-five years of age—very fashionably dressed—with a continual appearance of natural superciliousness and affected courtesy; a combination of the English Bully and the English Dandy."

"Keeps an eye at the bottom of his purse."

"I have known him to play off a paltry stratagem, to delude his associate counsel, lead him deliberately astray; assist him in thickening his error; and then, as he rose, turn deadly pale with the sense of his own unworthiness."

"He affects to be courtly and conciliatory at times—but nothing can be more ridiculous. All the training in the world would not make a gentleman of him."

Now, it may be said that at one of the meetings of the Delphian Club, Neal was called upon to write an essay on the morals of duelling. One passage of this essay runs as follows:

"If war between hundreds and thousands be justifiable, it

may be equally so between individuals. If man may be permitted to defend himself, duelling may be permitted, whenever duelling is the only defence against the innumerable evils that are not provided for by law. We therefore conclude the man who refuses to accept a challenge is disgraced by law, reason, the interest of society, patriotism, and the public voice." Furthermore Neal shows, in his novel *Seventy-Six*, no particular aversion to duelling.

Contradicting the sentiment of this essay are other statements of Neal's and particularly his novel, *Keep Cool*, which was written as an attack upon the custom of duelling. In any case, whether Neal favored duelling or not, he was compelled, in his relationship with Pinkney to come to a decision.

William Pinkney died just before *Randolph* appeared. This fact made the comments about this great orator much more objectionable.

As soon as the novel appeared, Edward Coote Pinkney demanded of Neal that he "disavow unequivocally" any connection with it.

Neal answered: "I do not admit the right of any man, whether he be the son of Mr. Pinkney, or not, to call upon me for an answer either one way or the other in the matter in question. I shall neither own nor deny the authorship of 'Randolph.'" Pinkney declared this answer unsatisfactory, and sent Neal a letter, which read as follows: "As you refuse to comply with my former demand, be pleased to make arrangements with my friend for the alternative usual in such cases. It were well they should be speedy." Neal answered: "Sir, your last note would not seem to require much consideration; but I have given it a good deal; and my reply is that I can not accept a challenge, under the circumstances of this case, where I held myself amenable to the laws of honor or society for any outrage upon earth."

The affair is ended with Pinkney's posting throughout the town the following notice: "The undersigned having entered into some correspondence with the reputed author of 'Ran-

dolph' who is or who is not sufficiently described as John Neal, gentleman, by indulgent courtesy, informs honorable men that he had found him unpossessed of courage to make satisfaction in the insolence of his folly.

"Stating this much, the undersigned commits the craven to his infamy.

Edward C. Pinkney, October 11, 1823."

Joseph D. Learned, the eighth member of the Delphian Club, was a lawyer and a colonel in the army. It was in Learned's office that Neal first studied law. The only work from his pen, as far as I know, is "A View of the Policy of Permitting Slaves in the States West of the Mississippi," published in Baltimore, 1820, by J. Robinson. He was dropped from the roster of the Club because of failure to pay several fines.

Edward Denison wrote *The Lottery*, a poem in two parts, and an *Ode to War*, published in Baltimore, 1815, by J. Robinson. Neither has great literary merit.

Henry Marie Brackenridge (1786-1871), born in Pittsburgh, came to Baltimore on the advice of his father, H. H. Brackenridge, because it was a thriving commercial city close to Washington. Lack of success as a lawyer, and a roving disposition, prompted him to travel widely in the West. With St. Louis as the center, he practised law in the wide expanse of country known as the Louisiana Territory. It was his experience here that caused him to write his *Views of Louisiana*, about which he says, page 253 of his *Recollections of the West*,

"I may be pardoned for saying that this youthful production was favorably mentioned both by the *London Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Review*, and that an extract from it in one of them, relating to Colonel Boone and his companions settled around him in the Missouri wilderness, gave the hint to a beautiful passage in the *Don Juan* of Lord Byron."

On leaving St. Louis, 1811, he spent the next ten years, "the most eventful," as he says, in his life, in New Orleans,

Baltimore, and South America. It was during this second stay in Baltimore that he became a member of the Delphian Club. The minutes of the Club record both his departure for South America and his return, and they preserve a copy of the letter he wrote to the Club from South America. The trip to the Southern continent was performed by order of the American government in the years 1817 and 1818. It furnished him the material for his two volumes on *South America*.

During the second stay in Baltimore Brackenridge was elected to the state legislature of Maryland, a fact which is also referred to in the minutes of the Delphian Club. When he left Baltimore the second time, he was made an honorary member of the Club, sharing this honor only with Pierpont.

Brackenridge published twelve important works, chiefly on the subjects of travel, history, and law. While in Baltimore, he published *A Journal of a Voyage up the River Mississippi*, 1816; *History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain*, 1816, a work which passed through at least ten editions and was republished in France, Germany, and Italy; *Views of Louisiana*, 1817; and the *Voyage to South America*, 1819.

Paul Allen (1775-1826) was from Rhode Island. Before he came to Baltimore, he was editor of Bronson's *United States Gazette*, which Neal says was then considered among the ablest journals of the country. "The reputation he gained there," Neal continues, "led to his being employed as the editor and compiler of *Lewis and Clark's Tour*; and then to his being engaged as editor of the *Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph*." Neal also says, page 192 of *Wandering Recollections*, that "Allen had been declared by Mr. Jefferson himself, after the publication of *Lewis and Clark's Tour*, to be the very best of our American writers."

Allen was the author of several published speeches—orations as they were called; of a *History of the American Revolution* (although Neal declares this work to be almost entirely his); of a long poem, *Noah*, published in Baltimore in 1820; and,

in addition, was at different times editor of seven periodicals or newspapers.

Several of his poems are preserved in the Delphian records. One of them, the *Delphian Song* is found in Volume IV, page 196.

Now while the glass beam flashes bright
And warms each soul within its sphere,
Friendship and summer here unite
Though cold December rules the year.
Henceforth let mirth and joy combine
And flow redundant as the wine!

Bacchus, 'tis not thy smiling brow
Reflected from the rosy wine,
Ah, no! 'tis friendship warms us now,
With far more ruddy beams than thine!
Friendship, we feel thy soft control,
For thou art music to the soul!

When by thy lamp our hearts are lit,
A lamp that never sparkles dim,
Behold! they stray through fields of wit
Through walks of humor and of whim.
The joke displays its glow-worm fires,
It flashes and it then expires.

Graybeards, will you pronounce us wrong,
And read us lectures by the yard;
Your hearts have icicles as long—
Like winter they are cold and hard.
Wisdom, thy feasts we ne'er can share
While friendship knocks for entrance there!

But see! what Fairy takes his stand
So light upon our goblet's brim!
He bears a girdle in his hand—
And gives a smile of Delphian whim!
Ah! sure 'tis friendship meets our view—
Our beating hearts proclaim it true.

He flies the Delphian circle round—
Auspicious to his votary's prayer—
And lo! our bosoms all are bound!
We feel the girdle's pressure there!
Our toast shall now the girdle be,
Then turn the lock, and keep the key.

About William Gwynn (1775-1854), Scharf, in his *History of Baltimore City and County*, writes, page 644:

"William Gwynn, the presiding genius of the Tusculum and the Delphian Club, was a literary man, and the cause of literature in others. He was born in Ireland, but came to Baltimore at an early period, and became editor of the *Federal Gazette*. . . . He was a man of wit and genial temper, and his house was the headquarters of the literati, the artists, actors, and Bohemians of the time extending from about 1815 to 1830. About that time the improvements of that part of town shut in and hid the Tusculum, and converted Bank Lane into a malodorous alley. Its owner fell into financial embarrassments, and it was sold by his creditors. A subscription was taken up for Gwynn's benefit."

Scharf also mentions that Gwynn was a law student with David Poe, father of Edgar Allan Poe, that Gwynn's name appears on the tablet deposited in the corner stone of Washington's Monument, and that he was a member of a company, including Rembrandt Peale, which manufactured the first gas in the city. John H. B. Latrobe says, Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 207, that Gwynn's portrait "looks down from the walls of the Superior Court Room upon the scene in which he was at one time an honored actor."

On June 20, 1818, Gwynn was elected by members of the Delphian Club to be what was known as the Delphian Flamen, by which title he is referred to many years later by Latrobe and Scharf. After the death of Winder, who was elected president early in 1824 and who died shortly afterwards, Gwynn was made president and so continued until after the Club disbanded.

William H. Winder (1775-1824) was born in Somerset County, Maryland, and came to Baltimore in 1802 to practice law. During the War of 1812 he was in command of the American army at the Battle of Bladensburg, where he was severely defeated. Because of this defeat he was disgracefully criticized at the time, but a Board of Inquiry not only exonerated him, but commended him on the fact that he had succeeded so well with the slim, poorly-equipped, untrained army at his command.

After the war he resumed his law practice and built it up until, according to the *History of Baltimore*, published by S. B. Nelson, it was the largest in the state. He was the third Delphian to win a seat in the State Legislature of Maryland; he was elected to the Senate.

Neal writes about Winder, in *Wandering Recollections*:

"My first acquaintance with General Winder was at the Delphian Club. . . . His popularity was almost unbounded . . . self-denying to a fault, . . . ; too generous to think of justifying himself at the expense of another; too magnanimous to suspect others of envy, of littleness, or bad faith. He was just the man to live and die in the belief that he who deserves to have no enemies may safely leave his reputation to take care of itself."

For the facts about the life of Thomas Martin Maund (1794-1838), we are indebted largely to his daughter, Miss Margaret E. Maund, who lives in Baltimore. The family Bible informs us that Maund was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. As a young man he studied printing in Philadelphia and later settled in Baltimore as a partner in the firm of Schaeffer and Maund. Here he edited a very successful paper, *The Morning Chronicle*. In 1823 he married the daughter of Frederick Waesche, a merchant of this city, and made his home on Pratt Street, near Sharp, which at that time was a good residential neighborhood. The country residence was on Lexington Street, near Fremont.

In the *Morning Chronicle* of July 1, 1824, we learn that Thomas Maund has just sold his paper to William Pechin, he thanks his many subscribers, and announces that he is moving to Virginia. He died in Alexandria.

Jules Timoleon Ducatel (1796-1849) was a chemist and a geologist. He received his early training at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and at Paris; he became a member of the faculty of the University of Maryland, and later of St. John's College, Annapolis. He was State Geologist from 1833 to 1841. His literary work consists of *A Manual of Practical Toxicology*, Baltimore, 1832; *Farmer's Register* (Survey of the Tidewater Region of Maryland), Baltimore, 1835; Reports of the Maryland Geological Survey, 1833-1841. He edited the *Baltimore Times*, 1830-1831.

John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe (1803-1891) lived during his childhood in Washington, where his father, Benjamin H. Latrobe, had been the architect of the Capitol, and where the boy attended Georgetown College. In 1817, the family left Washington and established themselves in Baltimore.

Between 1818 and 1821, Latrobe attended the United States Military Academy at West Point, after which he resigned from the army and began the study of law in the office of General Harper in Baltimore. He later became counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

He was early interested in the Masonic fraternity, and became so prominent in it that one of the Baltimore lodges now bears his name.

Law and Masonry were obliged to share with literature his attention and interest. He became a member of the Delphian Club in 1824, started a firm friendship with John P. Kennedy, was one of the judges of the contest in which Edgar Allan Poe won the prize, and wrote prolifically himself.

He published twenty-six works ranging in type from a journal of a march performed by West Point cadets to speeches on the subject of the colonization of Africa by American negroes

and a volume of poems to which he gave the title *Odds and Ends*.

These sixteen men were, at one time or another, the actual members of the Delphian Club, admitted under the regular initiation ceremony and recorded under the constitution. They were all given pseudonyms, as follows:

William Sinclair—Muggius Sin-clear
 John D. Readel—Blearix von Crambograph
 Tobias Watkins—Pertinax Particular
 James H. McCulloh—Abraham Kenueckofritz
 John Pierpont—Hiero Heptaglott
 Horace H. Hayden—Jasper Hornblende
 John Neal—Jehu O'Cataract
 J. D. Learned—Surrogate Sackvert
 E. Denison—Precipitate Pasquin
 H. M. Brackenridge—Peregrine Bochinjochelus
 Paul Allen—Solomon Fitz Quizz
 William Gwynn—Odopoeus Oligostichus
 William H. Winder—Opechancanough Sulekouqui
 Thomas Maund—{ Damun ap Ramrod
 { Lothario Meliboeus
 J. T. Ducatel—Basaltes Cranioscopus
 John H. B. Latrobe—{ Orlando Garangula
 { Choleric Combustible
 { Sir John Mittimus of Mittimus Hall.

It is by these Club names that the members are referred to in the records. All visitors are also given pseudonyms and are so recorded in the minutes. The most frequent visitors were Quizzifer Wuggs, Baron Brobdignag, Le Compere Mathieu, Peter Paragraph, Stoffle von Plump, Occasional Punnifer, and Don Comerostros. On a scrap of paper lying in the records are the names of William Frick and Fielding Lucas, Jr. These men were apparently present at one of the meetings. Only in one other place do we find an actual name of a visitor, in Volume VI, page 303. Here with one pseudonym, Don Gusto

Comerostros, is the name Philip Laurenson. Of the visitors mentioned by pseudonyms, only one can be identified, and that is Baron Brobdignag. In Volume IV, page 26, of the records, we read that, at the end of Readel's song, which was sung by Baron Brobdignag, Gwynn remarked, "May every off-spring of the Delphian Muse be as well Fostered!" Readel commented, "This toast, whose point turns up in the Baron's family name, was swallowed with much satisfaction." In other words, Baron Brobdignag was Francis Foster, whom Latrobe mentions as one of the visitors to the Club.

It was these men, members and friends, that made the Delphian Club distinguished. The greatest tribute to them as a Club is that of Neal's on page 210 of *Wandering Recollections*:

"It is to them, and to that association, that I am indebted for the best part of my doings, and a large portion of the happiness I enjoyed in the South. High-minded, generous, unselfish men, they were both intellectual and companionable, indulgent, and with all their whims and freaks, congenial."

When these men met on Saturday nights, they indulged more in the making of fun than in the making of literature. According to the records, their meetings were a series of hilarious arguments, impromptu epigrams, jokes, and songs. A supper of "testaceous bivalves," as the secretary called them, or of partridges, or of duck, or simply of cheese and crackers, with whiskey and cigars as a supplement, usually ended the meeting. There was more serious activity too. At each meeting, a member read an essay or poem on some subject assigned to him at the previous meeting. And many of these essays found their way into the pages of the *Portico* or the *Journal of the Times*.

A vivid description of one of the Delphian meetings is given by Neal in *Randolph*, Volume II, page 316, dated 1823, when the Club was in full bloom.

"You have heard of the Delphian Club. I was there last night; and never was it my misfortune to see such a heap of intellectual rubbish and glitter in all my life. There were ten or a dozen of them; and the chief entertainment of the society

appeared to consist in calling each other by hard names. . . . They call themselves the he-muses, and each one has a companion allotted him from among the nine she-ones. The members read essays, chase puns, wrangle vehemently and noisily about nothing, talk all together, and eat when they do eat, which I should judge could not be oftener than once a week, with inconceivable effect; and drink after the same manner."

Their fun was due in large measure to their interest in puns and epigrams. On every occasion that presented itself some member of the Club composed a few lines aimed at some other member. Many of these squibs were impromptu, but Readel, the secretary, was always diligent in securing them for his records.

Several of them were thrusts at the several physicians of the Club, chiefly Readel, Watkins, and McCulloh. Gwynn wrote this quatrain:

When the Doctors dispute, 'tis the poor patient's fate
To suffer as victim to end the debate,
For while the disputants each other deride
The patient's neglected till Death must decide.

Paul Allen assailed the physician as follows:

Death, when he resolved to extend his domains
Produced of fine dust some most delicate grains
And exclaimed with a countenance heightened with pride
The warrior and doctor alone shall divide
This present of mine; and henceforth 'tis my will
That the Doctor and warrior with powder shall kill.

These rhymes were frequently written in the form of epitaphs which mocked both the physicians and lawyers.

Epitaph for a Doctor.

Doctor, what is this mistake I see?
Death meant to take thy patient, sure not thee!

Epitaph for a Lawyer.

Yes! thou art dead at last, and stiff and cold—
One truth has been, but that thy tombstone told.

Some of these satirical epitaphs were on other subjects.

Epitaph on the Owner of a Large Estate.

What pity that this corpse so small is found!
It should have stretched five hundred acres round.

On a Cheat.

Ashes to ashes though we now resign,
This loss, O Death! will grieve no eye but thine.

On an Honest Man.

The tall rank grass that overtops thy head,
Bows to the gale in homage to the dead,
And nature shows her reverence to the just;
With sweetest flowers she decks thy slumbering dust.

On a Rose springing from an Infant's Grave.

Spread beauteous blossom, 'tis thine hour to blow—
Thou emblem of the dust that lies below!

On a Glutton.

Could thy teeth speak they'd thank thee o'er and o'er;
They know a rest they never felt before.

These epitaphs appear in the *Portico*, Volume IV, page 328.

Allen wrote an epitaph on his wife. The fact is that he was not married, but the Club gave him an imaginary wife, and much frolic arose over his marital relations.

Beneath this stone my wife doth lie;
Now she's at rest, and—so am I.

Many other rhymes that are contained in the records are of such a nature that they cannot be reproduced here. It is sufficient to say that no subject, no matter how obscene, escaped the attention of these men when on Saturday nights they laid aside

the dignity of the week and in the privacy of their homes or in the quaint house on Bank Lane and in the bosom of each other's sympathy and friendship, they broke loose at play.

One of their diversions lay in a mimic of the European nobility. Each member was a knight and had his coat-of-arms as sketched in the records. The president was always addressed as "My Lud." This satire was also carried over to the field of learning. Each member of the Club had numerous academic degrees and titles. John Neal was Professor of Jocology. His first annual lecture, as it was called, is recorded in Volume III, page 361. In its definitions and divisions and subdivisions it is very clearly a parody on pedantry.

"Jocology, young gentlemen, is the science of joking. This seat which I now occupy is called the jocological chair. We explain the apparent dissimilarity between the substantive Jocology and the adjective Jocological as follows. . . .

"Jocology . . . is the logic of Joking. There are several kinds of jocology, each pre-eminent—like Aristotle's philosophy, to those of its admirers who are ignorant of everything else. For example, there is a mathematical, a mechanical, a metaphysical, and a theological jocology. Of the four mentioned, the last is the most conspicuous for the number, good sense, and honesty of its proselytes," etc.

Paul Allen was Professor of Chrononhotonthology, the science of saying little in much, the science of meaningless verbosity. In those of Allen's essays that are in the records, we suspect Allen to be a true follower of his science. In the lecture on the subject, as we find it on page 17 of Volume III, he playfully illustrates Chrononhotonthology by describing the rise of the sun. In this description he uses over three hundred words to say that the sun rose.

John Pierpont illustrates the science by a poem which he calls the *Della Cruscan Ode upon Anything*. This was read to the Club, Volume II, page 128, and later appeared in the *Portico*, Volume IV, page 413, and in the *Federal Gazette*, December 9, 1817; and received so much attention that, at Pierpont's

death in 1866, the *Boston Advertiser* quotes these lines, and Neal refers to them in his article on Pierpont written for the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1866.

Brightly bubbling, golden, glowing,

Is the tide that Hope inspires:

Wildly, deeply, darkly flowing,

Is the flash of Fancy's fires.

Beauty's blithest blossom blushes

Deepest, dash'd with diamond dew:

Hope with heart's high heaving hushes,

With her strains of silvery hue.

Dew dreams, that dancing daily

Round the rural beauty's bowers,

Sparkling spring, and gargle gaily

Frolicking thro' fields of flowers.

And this aimless alliteration continues through eleven more such stanzas.

Other such subjects for which there were professorships were Kolakology and Loblology. Kolakology was the science of effective flattery; loblology the science of endeavoring to do that which is impossible. Winder, the popular good fellow, was Professor of Kolakology; Allen, who contracted to write a history of the American Revolution and who finally left the duty to Neal and Watkins, was Professor of Loblology.

Readel was Poet Laureate. One of his songs, a rather acceptable bit of rhyme, was sung by Francis Foster at the third anniversary of the founding of the Club. See Volume IV, page 24. This song ends with the stanza:

A priest of Apollo, my Delphian Friends,

(And, surely, few others have been more discerning)

In verse wove by Melody's self recommends,

Drink deep, or taste not the fountain of learning.

'Tis the same with the glass!

Let none sip and pass.

At the banquet of friendship he's an exquisite ass!
 Let no ass's head, then, in your glasses appear,
 When you drink the bright dawn of the Delphian New
 Year.

When William Gwynn, Professor of Impromptology, was called upon to deliver his annual lecture on the subject, on one occasion he delivered himself as follows:

My Lud! and Brother Delphians all,
 We rise obedient to your call!
 As the science we teach, by example is taught best,
 To give an example impromptu, is thought best.
 Since to friends of the Delphians it plainly appears,
 Their wit and their pleasure increase with their years,
 Let each fill a bumper and pass this toast round:
 May our third anniversary be thrice renowned!

He was applauded and thanked by the president for his impromptu address, and in reply said,

Delphians! I don't admire you less
 For praising me and my address!

New members, in their very initiation, were introduced to this mummary. The initiation was a long rigmarole of ridiculous questions, answers, oaths and revelations. This ceremony was printed in full and a copy given to each member. Several of these copies may be found in the records. Of the ceremony, a few lines, which were to be spoken by the novitiate, bear quoting,

Of essays may I be prolific
 And every one so soporific
 That not e'en Delphians may determine
 Whether it essay be or sermon;
 May my verse prose, and my prose verse be,
 And may they both not worth a curse be.

All these doings are recorded in the minutes of the Club

now preserved at the Maryland Historical Society. A portion of these records occurs in two sets, one in folio covering the first three years of the Club and one meeting, the anniversary celebration, of the fourth year. The other set of records is in six volumes, quarto size, covering six years of the activity of the Club. The folio set contains in general the same material as the first three quarto volumes. The question arises, which set was first compiled?

In favor of the folio set we have Latrobe's statement made some years afterwards (see Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 186), "They were kept in folio volumes, whose chirography was beautiful, and were filled with wit. After the Club disbanded, Readell commenced an expurgated edition in quarto—for there were many specimens of wit that were freer than he fancied they should be."

Also, in an account of Readell's life in the *Baltimore County Advocate*, Towson, September 30, 1854, we find these comments about the Delphian records:

"Some idea may be formed of the arduous nature of his task from the records of the club which he has left behind him, consisting of five folio volumes of the largest size letter paper, closely written on both sides."

On the other hand, in the first volume of the quarto, the members are referred to as Mr. N., Mr. P., Mr. R., whereas in the folio, as well as in the succeeding quarto volumes, they are referred to by their Club names. Since it was some time after the founding of the Club that a resolution was passed making it a club misdemeanor to name the members in any other way than by their club names, we may definitely infer that the quarto set was the first. As a further proof, we have the fact that the quarto set contains the essays and other contributions of the members in their own handwriting, whereas the folio set contains transcriptions of this work. A further proof, indirect to be sure but yet rather conclusive, is that the folio set is more neatly written, with much ornamental printing and other embellishments. There is no doubt then that

the quarto set was written first, and that the folio set was done some time afterwards, probably after 1824; for no reference to it occurs in the records.

The folio set is not bound. The quarto set is well bound in five volumes; the records of the sixth year are not bound. The fourth volume was bound by one of the associates of the Club known as Quizzifer Wuggs. The record reads, July 14, 1821: "The volume containing the proceedings of the Fourth Year of the Delphian Club has been recently bound in most superb style by Quizzifer Wuggs, and that, too, gratis." Since the binding of all the volumes is similar, and since the name Quizzifer Wuggs appears frequently as that of a visitor to the Club from the very first to the last, we may suppose that the same person bound all the volumes.

These six books are a record of the secretary's enthusiasm and industry. They are not simply a literal record of the meetings. They are not like the minutes that we usually find written of the meetings of clubs. They are the free comments of one man upon the activity of his friends, and these comments are so picturesque and so appropriate that the reading of the Delphian records is most entertaining.

They were recognized by the other members as Readel's free comments. Allen, in his first anniversary speech, Volume II, page 17, says that a chance remark "by being planted in the prolific soil of our secretary's intellect is seen to produce an abundant harvest. . . . This wit is all unknown to the poor reputed author, and he is compelled to laugh heartily at what he has never uttered. Our ruthless secretary, by that species of second sight with which he is so liberally endowed, for he looks through a pair of spectacles, is able to foresee what a man would have said if he possessed the ninetieth part of his wit."

Latrobe makes a similar statement (see Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 185): "It was Readel's privilege to record what he pleased as the doings of the meeting, putting what words he chose into the mouths of the members. The reading of the record was generally the choice morsel of the evening."

Two examples will suffice:

"A vociferous conversation ensued on the comparative merits of Byron and Moore as poets, in which Jehu O'Cataract and Pertinax Particular distinguished themselves. Surrogate Sackvert made several vain attempts to slip in a word; and on complaining of his ill-success, was answered by Jehu O'Cataract that he lost nothing by saying nothing, but on the contrary gained a great deal by being compelled to listen, because the conversation was the feast of wisdom and the soul of wit."

Another passage:

"Many anecdotes of a character rather too much after the manner of the Dean of St. Patrick's to be recorded on the pure pages of this book, were told by several of the members, mirth and joyous glee reigned in every breast; care was drowned in the treasurer's eau-de-vie, and the hoary-headed sinner Time was murdered *secundem artem*. At eleven o'clock the gates of Delphi opened to the egress of the Priests: the oracles ceased to speak.—The Delphians walked soberly home."

Bound in each volume with the secretary's comments on the meetings are the essays which were contributed by some member of the Club at each meeting. These essays are in the handwriting of the various members who contributed them. At each meeting, the president gave a member of the Club three subjects from which he was to choose one for an essay. The following are some of the subjects suggested:

In the present state of society, is it a higher proof of courage to accept a challenge, or to decline on the ground of religious principles?

Is a pun a higher species of wit than an acrostic?

Which was the better monarch, Charles II or Cromwell?

Which is the greater curse to humanity, bank directors or counterfeiters?

What is the origin of the phrase, "As drunk as David's Sow?"

What is the difference between reminiscence and memory?

Why were Physic and Poetry ascribed to the same deity by the heathens?

May a man in any country or state be allowed two wives?

What is the noblest use to which rags can be applied?

Has the philosophy of Voltaire and Hume been injurious or serviceable to the world?

The parallel between law and poetry.

The Westminster Catechism.

The distinction between puns and wit.

The relation between genius and fancy.

Is it constitutional or contrary to the Bill of Rights or an arbitrary act of despotism to incorporate any number of persons contrary to their wishes?

Which is the greater poet, Cicero or Dean Swift?

What is the origin of the phrase, "A necessary evil"?

Wherein is a man disgraced who refuses to accept a challenge?

What was the first jingling couplet ever made?

Can there be too much perspicuity of style?

Can you draw a parallel between Boswell and Johnson?

If the articles of the Decalogue were to be diminished in number, which of them could be dispensed with in civil society?

What is the greatest vice to which man is subject?

What writer in the English language has rendered the greatest benefits to literature?

Is there any one word which expresses the same idea in all languages?

What is meant by the philosophy of language?

In general the subjects were such as to require only a superficial opinion on the part of the writer. They demanded no great depth of thought or investigation, and many of them were purposely of such nature as to call forth humor. Most of the essays were as the subjects imply, hastily written and superficial, but withal witty and interesting.

In addition to the essays, the records contain many letters written by the members when they were on journeys out of the

city. Brackenridge, on his trip to South America, wrote a letter from Rio Janeiro, dated February 7, 1818. This letter is interesting in connection with his two volumes on South America.

A series of letters was written by Tobias Watkins describing his tour by stage and steamboat through northern New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Canada. The letters appear in the minutes.

The Club also wrote a novel, the members taking turns at writing the chapters. The title is *Incomprehensibility*. The authors are McCulloh, Readell, Allen, Watkins, Gwynn, and Denison; Winder wrote one chapter. It is entirely devoid of merit, being vague, verbose, and tiresome.

The records contain many speeches, one of which is significant in that it indicates the higher ambitions of the Club. This is the speech of the president, Tobias Watkins, on the anniversary of his election, December 26, 1818. He warns the Club that they must not indulge solely in puns and epigrams and in noisy play. He advises that they mix the two, frolic and serious endeavor, in equal proportions, in order to effect an ambitious result. This speech is quoted in full in the records and also in the *Journal of the Times*, page 289. One paragraph of it, the seventh, is sufficient:

"I know how difficult it is to resist the fascinations of wit—but let us remember how evanescent are its most brilliant coruscations—how faint the glow, which its brightest flashes impart. You would justly accuse me of presuming too far upon your attention and forbearance, were I to enlarge upon these hints. You know too well what is due to yourselves, to each other, and to posterity, to whom it is no idle vanity to predict that your records will descend—to make it necessary that I should speak more freely. My duty is performed, when I have reminded you, in the words of Cicero, that '*malum nascens facile opprimitur*.' Your own good sense will prevent its becoming, by indulgence, '*inveteratum robustius*.' Indeed our Book of Essays furnishes the most honorable and satisfac-

tory evidence that the *Nugae Canorae* have not alone engaged our attention."

Interspersed among the pages of the records occur a number of crude, water-color sketches, the subjects being such as members of the club at dinner, the Delphians marching in procession on the Reistertown Road to celebrate the Third Delphian Anniversary, and the destruction of the water works in a battle of the Delphians. Some of these sketches are signed Kenuckkofritz, which is the Club name of Doctor James H. McCulloh. Those that are not signed are apparently his work also, for they are similar to the others.

In addition to these drawings there are two India-ink sketches particularly well done, one of Paul Allen, Volume III, page 196, and one of Readel, Volume IV, page 202. The one of Readel has the word Wood written below it in the lower right-hand corner. The one of Allen has no name on it. These two sketches are apparently done by the same person, although Allen's is better than Readel's. The lines are firmer; the figure is better placed in the frame; the shading is more realistic. Readel's has a shaded background; Allen's has not. Its absence in the sketch of Allen makes the figure of the man more prominent.

The value of these records was well appreciated by the members of the Club. At one meeting, a conversation ensued as to their value. Neal is reported as saying, Volume III, page 264, "The records of this Club are the best things I ever saw! the very best—and it would be a pity that they should ever be lost; and I move that they be given to the Baltimore Library, if this club should be dissolved."

As a token of appreciation of Readel's work, the members presented him a silver medal, which is now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The resolution that this medal should be given to the secretary was made November 29, 1823, and the medal, designed by McCulloh, was presented with great formality December 13, 1823. A lengthy presentation poem was written of which the following lines contain an expression of appreciation:

There never will sit at club table
 A secretary half as able—
 Five volumes! lo! of ample size
 At this time greet our wondering eyes!
 Written by your unwearied hand
 Most caligraphic in the land!

The medal is about two inches in diameter. Around the circumference is written: "Delphian Club—Instituted B. C. MCCCCXX." In the enclosed space is written, "This medal was voted by the club 29th November, 1823, to Blearix von Crambograph, their incomparable secretary, as a mark of their high and great consideration." On the other side are the names: Precipitate Pasquin, Odopoeus Oligostichus, Blearix von Crambograph, Opechancanough Sulekouqui, Basaltes Cranioscopus, Abraham Kenuckkofritz, Solomon Fitz Quizz, Lothario Meliboeus. These names represented Denison, Gwynn, Readel, Winder, Ducatel, McCulloh, Allen, and Latrobe.

The Club almost came to an end in the summer of 1821. Because of the yellow fever epidemic in Baltimore, meetings stopped completely after August, 1821, and were suspended until August, 1823. The fear of this disease was mentioned first on September 4, 1819, when Readel wrote in the minutes, "Some interesting conversation took place on the Yellow Fever which had driven out of town His Sub-Ludship (Denison), Jehu O'Cataract, and Bochinjochelus." On July 21, 1821, because only two members were present, he and Denison, Readel remarked that the Club was in danger of dying of the fever. On the following Saturday, Allen suggested suspending the meetings until the epidemic was over. Watkins wrote,

Suspend the Club, for fever's sake!
 Is that what you intended?
 Delphian who'd such motion make
 Should be himself suspended.

In spite of this threat, attendance upon the meetings became

worse until on August 18, 1821, Readel wrote to Gwynn the following letter:

"Mr. Gwynn—

"I told you yesterday that if I should be disappointed in having a meeting at my office this evening, I should have nothing more to do with the Delphian Club. Not one of the members has thought proper to attend, though duly advertised of the time and place of meeting—and of course I am obliged to adhere to my word.

"It is well known to the whole Club that my exertions alone have kept it together for a considerable time, and every member has confessed that without me the Club would have expired long ago, and further that if I should leave it now it would cease to exist. Let it then cease to exist for I will be its pack-horse no longer. I delighted in my duty as secretary so long as the members appeared to possess any zeal for the Club's welfare. Their zeal is extinct—let the Club be so too. I am determined to be no longer a Delphian—and am resolved that others shall not be dignified with the title while I alone contribute to its support.

"I remain your obedient servant—

John D. Readel."

Upon this the Club did not meet again for two years, and to all appearances it was apparently disbanded completely. To that effect Readel wrote Watkins, who was in Washington, and received the reply, dated September 4, 1821,

"My Dr. Duke,

I think your Grace was jesting in the obituary of the Delphian Club. While your Grace and I live, it is not possible, I must insist, that the Ancient and Reputable Club should *die*; it may dwindle, but it cannot perish. . . . I hold a regular session every Saturday night, and shall continue to hold it in the name of the Ancient and Reputable Delphian Club, as long

as I can hold myself together. What matters the death of Fitz-Quizz, Kenuckkofritz, Pasquin, and all?

"I'll send you a *session* every other Saturday, if you will do the same to me every intermediate Saturday, and thus we may yearly form a volume neither *less* nor *more* than those which have gone before."

We find no other reference to the Club between August, 1821, and August, 1823, at which time the members again met to begin the sixth year of the Club. At the first meeting of this revival, the members present were Denison, Readel, McCulloh, Allen, Gwynn, Winder, and Maund.

At this time Denison was vice-president and Watkins president. Because of Watkins' inability to attend the meetings (he had been imprisoned through the efforts of Andrew Jackson), the Club elected William Winder as the new President. Upon this event, Denison wrote to Readel,

"Sir,

"In consequence of the election of Mr. Opechancanough Soulekouqui to the Tripod, I have resigned the Vice-presidency and withdrawn from the Club.

"I beg you will notify this to the Club at the next meeting, which in consequence of my resignation will not be held at my home as proposed.

Your obedient and humble servant."

Winder continued President until his death, June 5, 1824. Gwynn was elected to succeed him and remained the presiding spirit as long as the Club met. How long it continued to meet is not definitely known. The record ceases with the last meeting in August, 1824. The only reference to any activity after that time occurs in Semmes' *Life of Latrobe*, page 186:

"It was a rare comradeship for a lad of two or three and twenty, but time and circumstances made it expedient to extinguish the club, and a meeting was held of such members as could be gotten together at the rooms of the Flamen, and in succession each member was regularly expelled, until none re-

mained, save the Flamen and the Secretary, but the former had two votes, so he expelled the Secretary, and then sent in his own resignation to Apollo. It was melancholy, and von Crambograph's eyes filled with tears as he delivered his beloved records to the Flamen, whose voice was choked as he attempted to reply. If these men were playing child's play, it was a pleasant play, innocent recreation, and the Delphians' notes, renowned even at the time, are now but a shadow of memory, and that fast fading into the inevitable."

The memory of the Club, except for a few scattered and meager references, did appear to "fade into the inevitable," but Denison, in a jocular epitaph composed at one of the Delphian meetings, on the secretary Readell, prophesied otherwise:

Here lies the great von Crambograph
His works are his best epitaph.

On this utterance, Gwynn replied,

His works! live a short time, you'll see.
His works will lie as dead as he.

And so they did lie for a century until they were presented to the Maryland Historical Society. Perhaps this paper will in some measure resurrect them.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON.

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE.

PART TWENTY-FIRST.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIVING THE RIVER PROJECT.

"If the superintendence of this work would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would follow that of your public life!"—*Thomas Jefferson to George Washington*, March 15, 1784.

"It appears to me, that the interest and policy of Maryland are proportionably concerned with those of Virginia, to remove obstructions, and to invite the trade of the Western country into the channel you have mentioned . . . and I wish, if it should fall in your way, that you would discourse with Mr. Thomas Johnson, formerly Governor of Maryland, on this subject."—*Washington to Jefferson*, March 29, 1784.

Prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, Colonel George Washington and Thomas Johnson, Esquire, were leading advocates of the scheme to extend navigation of the Potomac River; but during the eight dreadful years that followed, the project was altogether forgotten. With the dawn of peace, General Washington and Governor Johnson took the view that development of inland navigation, desired for *commercial* purposes during the days of the Colonies, was now also of *political* importance—indeed, essential for National solidarity, if not for the very preservation of the Union.

After proclaiming the end of the war, General Washington left his camp at Newburgh for a tour of the Mohawk Valley to explore the possibilities of transportation. On this trip, the Commander-in-Chief foresaw the profound importance of navigation in the development of the United States.

While General Washington was inspecting the region around the Great Lakes, two of Johnson's friends, Normand Bruce and Charles Beatty, were investigating for the State of Maryland the practicability of opening the Potomac River for navigation. Undoubtedly Johnson was pleased with the report—filed a month before Washington arrived in Annapolis to resign his commission—stating that the construction of approximately five miles of canal would probably afford navigation for light vessels as far as Fort Cumberland.²³⁹

By this time, other American statesmen were beginning to recognize the importance of inland transportation. While American sovereignty was carried as far as the Mississippi by the Treaty of 1783, it was evident that, if no means of communication were established, the people beyond the mountains would trade at New Orleans and perhaps ultimately drift apart from the Union. Therefore, the belief was growing that it was vitally necessary for the growth and prosperity of the Nation to establish communication through the gateways in the mountain-walls by means of locks, sluices around impassable falls and rapids, and portage roads where canalization was impossible.

Among those who became interested in the project was Thomas Jefferson, who served as Governor of Virginia following the Administration of Patrick Henry, and who was now a member of Congress. Like Washington, Jefferson stood for a possession of the great West not by military rule, as exercised by Great Britain and France, but by a commercial link that would be a blessing to all America. Hearing that the people of New York were considering a Northern route to the West, the Virginia Congressman urged Washington to take the lead in developing the Potomac route to the West, declaring that this route would "pour into our lap the whole commerce of the Western world."²⁴⁰

²³⁹ *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November Session 1783, page 13.

²⁴⁰ *Letters to Washington*, IV, page 62.

Washington replied that he heartily favored the project—indeed, he had promoted the idea, with the aid of Thomas Johnson, a decade before—and while agreeing that time should not be lost in getting the project under way, suggested that the former Governor of Virginia confer with the former Governor of Maryland regarding the plan. In his letter of March 29, 1784, Washington answered Jefferson as follows: ²⁴¹

“More than ten years ago, I was struck with the importance of it and, despairing of any aids from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense the extension of the navigation from tide water to Will’s Creek, about 150 miles. To get this business in motion, I was obliged to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan was in a tolerably good train, when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in an excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties, which were met with in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce which usually came to their markets by land. The local interest of that place, joined to the short-sighted politics or contracted views of another part of that Assembly, gave Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was a warm promoter of the scheme on the North side of the Potomac, a great deal of trouble. . . . It appears to me, that the interest and policy of Maryland are proportionably concerned with those of Virginia, to remove obstructions, and to invite the trade of the Western country into the channel you have mentioned. You will have frequent opportunities of learning the sentiments of the principal characters of that State, respecting this matter; and I wish, if it should fall in your way, that you would discourse with Mr. Thomas Johnson, formerly Governor of Maryland, on this subject.”

²⁴¹ *Sparks*, Vol. IX, page 31.

In May, 1784, however, Jefferson retired from Congress; and having been selected at this time to assist Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in the negotiation of commercial treaties with European countries, he set sail for France early in July, and consequently was prevented from coöperating with Washington and Johnson in connection with the Potomac project.

Hearing that certain portions of his land were being occupied by squatters and even offered for sale by thieving land agents, Washington decided to make a journey across the Alleghanies to familiarize himself with his possessions in the West: at the same time he could investigate "the nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western waters."

Starting out September 1, 1784, Washington arrived on September 5th at the village of Bath—now called Berkeley Springs—where James Rumsey showed him a model of a boat intended to operate without sail against the current of a stream. The ingenious machinist, who had been born in Maryland scarcely more than forty years before, gave a demonstration of the boat; and so delighted was Washington that he gave the inventor a certificate of commendation. "I have seen," wrote Washington, on September 7th, "the model of Mr. Rumsey's boat, constructed to work against the stream; examined the powers by which it acts; have been the eyewitness to an actual experiment in running water of some rapidity; and give it as my opinion (although I had but little faith before) that he has discovered the art of working boats by mechanism and small manual assistance against rapid currents; that the discovery is of vast importance, that it may be of the greatest usefulness in our inland navigation, and if it succeeds (of which I have no doubt) that the value of it is greatly enhanced by the simplicity of the works which, when seen and explained, may be executed by the most common mechanic." ²⁴²

Observe that Washington, in the foregoing testimonial, did not use the word *steam*! Indeed, three years later, as we shall see, Washington is frank to tell Johnson that the use of steam

²⁴² Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, Vol. I, page 338.

was not contemplated by Rumsey as a part of his original plan in 1784 but was regarded by Washington merely "as the ebullition of his [Rumsey's] genius." However, the mechanical boat, crude as it was, served to deepen Washington's interest in the proposal of connecting the East and the West.

During the month of September, Washington was "deep in the wilderness, riding close upon seven hundred miles through the forested mountains, and along the remote courses of the long rivers that ran into the Mississippi." ²⁴³ During his long tour of the wilderness, Washington took particular pleasure in inspecting Johnson's land in the Glades of the Youghiogheny River, writing in his Diary on September 26th: "Part of these Glades is the property of Gov^r Johnson of Maryland who has settled two or three families of Palatines upon them." ²⁴⁴

Before nightfall of October 4th, 1784, Washington returned to Mount Vernon, more than ever convinced of the great value of opening the channel of the Potomac to navigation. He believed that it was practicable to reach the Lakes by the following route: (1) ascend the South Branch of the Potomac; (2) cross a portage road to Cheat River; (3) descend to the Monongahela; (4) ascend the West Fork of the Monongahela; (5) cross a portage to Little Kanawha; (6) descend to the Ohio; (7) ascend to the mouth of the Muskingum; (8) ascend the Muskingum to a portage; (9) cross portage to the Cuyahoga; (10) descend to Lake Erie. It was a visionary proposal: and its espousal "by so sane a man as Washington is a graphic commentary on the pioneer American commercial problem." ²⁴⁵

On October 10th, Washington sent to Governor Harrison, for the use of the Virginia Assembly, an exhaustive report of the Western journey. Five days later, Washington solicited the aid of Johnson in securing the passage of the Potomac Bill at Annapolis. Washington's letter follows: ²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Woodrow Wilson, *George Washington*, page 242.

²⁴⁴ Hulbert, *Washington and the West*, page 69.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, page 124.

²⁴⁶ Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, Vol. I, page 105; Bacon-Foster, *Records of Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. XV, page 134.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS JOHNSON.

"Mount Vernon,
Oct. 15, 1784.

Dear Sir,

On a supposition that you are now at Annapolis, the petition of the Potowmack Company is enclosed to your care. A duplicate has been forwarded to the Assembly of this State, the fate of which I have not yet heard, but entertain no doubt of its favorable reception; as there are many auspicious proofs of liberality and justice already exhibited in the proceedings of the present session. I hope the same spirit will mark the proceedings of yours.

The want of energy in the Federal government—the pulling of one State and party of States against another, and the commotion amongst the Eastern people have sunk our National character much below par; and have brought our politics and credit to the brink of a precipice. A step or two further must plunge us into a Sea of Troubles, perhaps anarchy and confusion. I trust that a proper sense of justice and unanimity in those States which have not drunk so deep of the cup of folly may yet relieve our affairs, but no time is to be lost in essaying them.

I have written to no Gentleman in your Assembly respecting the Potowmack business but yourself. The justice of the cause and your management of it will insure success.

With great Regard and Respect,

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble serv't,

Go WASHINGTON.

To the Hon.

Thomas Johnson, Esq."

Mr. Johnson, however, was now in private life; and he forwarded the petition to the Legislature which convened in November, 1784.

At an enthusiastic meeting in Alexandria on November 15th, attended by leading men from both sides of the Potomac, propaganda in behalf of inland navigation was set in motion. But it seemed that the provisions of the proposed Act were not altogether satisfactory to both Maryland and Virginia; and Washington suggested to James Madison, then a promising young member of the Virginia Assembly, that commissioners should be appointed by the two Legislatures to confer in regard to the measure. The suggestion was promptly adopted; and Washington, General Horatio Gates and Colonel Blackburn were named as commissioners for Virginia. Gates and Blackburn, however, gave no assistance, and Washington, meeting a committee from the Maryland Legislature at Annapolis on December 22, 1784, worked far into the night during the Yuletide season in shaping a measure that might prove to be satisfactory to both States.

The report of the conference recommended the adoption of an identical Act, authorizing the formation of the Potomac Company (then generally written Patowmack) as a body corporate to undertake the work of making the Potomac River navigable. The corporation was given the power of *eminent domain* and perpetual authority to charge tolls on the Potomac River, provided that navigation was extended to Fort Cumberland within three years after the formation of the Company.²⁴⁷

The charter was passed at Annapolis with only nine dissenting votes; and at Richmond, on January 5, 1785, without opposition. Thus the Potomac Company became a corporation. The prompt passage of the charter shows the characteristic enthusiasm and the powerful influence of Johnson in Maryland and Washington in Virginia.

The subscription books were opened in February at Annapolis, Frederick and Georgetown; and at Richmond, Alexandria and Winchester. While the people had been impoverished by the War for Independence, the wealthier men on both sides of

²⁴⁷ *Laws of Maryland*, November 1784, Chapter 33.

the Potomac purchased the stock when they heard that the corporation was endorsed by such men as General Washington and Governor Johnson. Among the Marylanders who purchased stock in the Company were members of the best families in the State, including many of the relatives and personal friends of Governor Johnson. Among the Virginians who subscribed was John Marshall, who voted for the charter in the House of Delegates at Richmond. "Thus early," it has been pointed out by Senator Beveridge, "did Marshall's ideas on the nature of a legislative franchise to a corporation acquire the vitality of property interest and personal experience."²⁴⁸

The first meeting of stockholders in the Potomac Company was held at Alexandria on May 17, 1785. About sixty subscribers put in their appearance. George Washington was present; but Thomas Johnson, although genuinely interested in the Company and the purchaser of a large block of its stock, did not attend, being prevented from making the trip to Alexandria by important business and professional duties. However, he gave a proxy to his personal friend, Abraham Faw, of Frederick.

Following a mid-day banquet, Washington called the meeting to order. Briefly he told of the political and commercial significance of the project and predicted ultimate reimbursement to the stockholders. It was announced that of the total issue of 500 shares of stock—offered at 100 pounds Sterling per share—approximately 400 shares of stock had already been sold. This indicated a fund of forty thousand pounds, or about two hundred thousand dollars, with which to commence the colossal task.

Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, who was chosen temporary chairman, next appointed a committee to examine the proxies. Then it was discovered that the proxy certificate signed by Governor Johnson—although an eminent lawyer, later to become Associate Justice of the Supreme Court—was disallowed.

²⁴⁸ Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall*, Vol. I, page 218.

Johnson's proxy was one of those held defective on account of having only one witness; but most of the other proxies held by Mr. Faw—including those of Thomas Johnson's brother, Baker, and former Governor Thomas Sim Lee—were allowed to vote.

But while a legal technicality deprived Governor Johnson of a vote at the election of officers, he was honored—after Washington was elected President of the Company—by being chosen one of the members of the Board of Directors. The other Directors (all elected to serve until August, 1786) were: Thomas Sim Lee, of Maryland; and George Gilpin and John Fitzgerald, of Virginia.

On the day after the organization meeting, Washington sent Johnson a letter, notifying him of his election to the directorate and inquiring if he could attend a meeting of the Board at an early date. Johnson accepted. His reply follows:²⁴⁹

THOMAS JOHNSON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“Fred^k 21 May 1785

Sir

I shall forward your Letter of the 18 Inst to Mr. Lee. I have no opportunity of consulting him as to the place or Hour of Meeting: as it can make very little Difference to him or me and Alexandria will be most convenient to you and the other Gent. I propose to meet there at 10 Oclock and shall write Mr. Lee accordingly—I much wished to have been at the Meeting the 17th if I could have attended. I should have endeavoured to excuse myself being under promise to attend at Williamsburgh next Month in the Federal Court and having a private Interest to adjust with the Company at the Great Falls I now agree to act as a Director imagining that the Great Falls will not be an immediate Object but if I am mistaken in that or my attend^a at Williamsburgh will in any degree delay the

²⁴⁹ *The Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress, Vol. 233, pages 31, 266.

Execution of the work I shall chearfully make Room for some Body else who can attend and act with propriety.

I am Sir
With great Truth & Respect,
Your most obed^t Servant,

TH^s JOHNSON."

Johnson was kept busy, during the early days of commercial reconstruction, with business and legal affairs; but the project of inland navigation was near his heart; and moreover his service on the directorate of the corporation promised to give him an opportunity to come in close touch with Washington, whom he so fondly admired.

Johnson attended the first meeting of the Board of Directors at Alexandria on May 30, 1785. At this meeting it was decided to request subscribers to pay in their first installments on or before July 15, in order that actual operations could begin the first of August. Washington was jubilant on the 25th of July, when he wrote to Lafayette regarding the sale of stock and the election of Johnson, Lee, Gilpin and Fitzgerald to help "conduct the undertaking."

On Monday, August 1, 1785, Johnson met Washington and the other Directors at Georgetown, where they held the first annual meeting of the Board. They decided to make a personal inspection of the channel as far as the Shenandoah.

Accompanied by James Rumsey, whom they appointed superintendent, and Richardson Stewart, his assistant, the President and Directors started out on their survey on the morning of August 2d. Having provided themselves with canoes, they paddled on the following day from Seneca Falls to the Great Falls. "The canoe or pirogue, in which General Washington and a party of friends made the first survey of the Potomac to ascertain the practicability of a navigation above tide-water," says G. W. P. Custis,²⁵⁰ "was hollowed out of a large poplar

²⁵⁰ Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of the Life and Character of Washington*.

tree under the direction of General Johnson, of Frederick County, Maryland. This humble bark was placed upon a wagon, hauled into the stream, and there received its honored freight. . . . At night-fall, it was usual for the party to land and seek quarters of some of the planters or farmers who lived near the banks of the river, in all the pride and comfort of old-fashioned kindness and hospitality."

On August 4th, Superintendent Rumsey started nine men to work; and on the 5th, the President and Directors started out again, after directing Rumsey to meet them on the following evening at Harper's Ferry. They decided to go by way of Frederick Town, so that Washington could spend a night with Johnson's family. In his Diary, Washington records the fact that he reached Frederick on Friday evening and lodged that night at the home of Governor Johnson. "In the Evening," says the Diary,²⁵¹ "the Bells Rang, and Guns were fired; and a Committee waited upon me by order of the Gentlemen of the Town to request that I w^d stay next day and partake of a publick dinner which the Town were desirous of giving me—But as arrangements had been made, and the time for examining the Shennondoah Falls, previous to the day fixed for receiving labourers into pay, was short I found it most expedient to decline the honor."

Unostentatious was the appearance of Washington in Frederick. And his entertainment by Johnson, hospitable but unceremonious, accorded with the desire of both for simplicity. After an early breakfast at Johnson's home on the morning of August 6th, they proceeded on their journey to Harper's Ferry. Ex-Governor Lee, whose home was located near the Gap, joined the party late in the day and at twilight Washington and the Directors held a meeting at one of the most picturesque spots of the Potomac.

Up at sunrise Sunday morning, the party made a further examination of the channel and inspected the gut through which

²⁵¹ W. S. Baker, *Washington After the Revolution*, pages 34 and 35.

they hoped to conduct the navigation. The prospect appeared rosy; and President Washington, Director Johnson and their associates left for their homes with high hopes for the success of the Potomac Company and eventual transportation to the Lakes.

But the troubles of the Company were just about to begin. First came the labor problem. Superintendent Rumsey soon found that he was unable to employ more than about seventy men, and even these were very unreliable, many of them disorderly. Rumsey took up the problem with Johnson and Lee, who decided it would be advantageous to obtain a number of Negro slaves for the enterprise. Johnson wrote Washington a letter, maintaining that Negro labor would be more valuable than that of "common white hirelings."²⁵²

At the next meeting of the President and Directors, held in Georgetown October 17, 1785, the labor question was thoroughly discussed, and it was decided to hire Negroes at the annual wage of twenty pounds, Virginia currency, with clothing and rations.

At the conclusion of the business session, Washington accompanied the Directors on another inspection of the river. And as the Autumn twilight came while on their way to the Great Falls, the members of the party paired off in search of shelter for the night. "Dispersing for the convenience of obtaining Quarters," says Washington in his Diary, "Gov^r Johnson and I went to Mr. Bryan Fairfax." And so, cheered by the same glowing fireside in a comfortable Virginia home, the two bosom friends spent the night together, dreaming of the day when the mountains would be conquered and the great wilderness beyond transformed into a land of thriving civilization.

(To be Continued.)

²⁵² *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. XV, page 160.

EXTRACTS FROM ACCOUNT AND LETTER BOOKS
OF DR. CHARLES CARROLL OF ANNAPOLIS.

(Continued from Vol. XX, p. 273.)

Maryland August 17th 1748

Sir

I received yours by Cap^t Biggs wth Account Current w^{ch} I find so far Right, and shall take care in due time to make all Ballances to your satisfaction.

The Large sum advanced on Account of my son I observe is his remove the first year to the College Part of w^{ch} to be refunded at his coming away. Mr Coddington Carrington of Barbadoes writes me that he had aply'd to you and delivered the necessary Vouchers to shew a Loss I sustained by stress of Weather in the Cargo of the schooner Annapolis Voyage to Barbados Alexander Scougal Master in 1741 and on w^{ch} you made Insurence & Charge me Premio, but In relation thereto have not had anything from you. In as much as the said Loss is within the Insurence hope to have adequate satisfaction from the Insurers w^{ch} must refer to you, and hope you will Procure Justice therein, I have been out a great deal for Insurence, this being the first Claim, as its Right hope shall meet no obsticle but have my Dammage made Good. I have drawn the following Bills on you as by their dates w^{ch} I desire the favour you will pay at due time and Charge to my Account.

Vidz	June 24 th To Geo Plater	£ 45
	July 8 To Ignatius Diggs	4.. 7.. 10
	29 To Thomas Tucker	15..
	Aug. 16 th To John Hunter	40
		<hr/>
		£104.. 7.. 10

By Captain West you shall hear from me and have Remittance . . .

To Mr Sam^l Hyde & Capt. Tho^s Storey

Maryland August 25th 1743

I am Informed that about the 27th of July the Person described in the Inclosed advertisement was brought into New York on Board a Prise taken by sum Vessell and brought in there and that he was then a Prisoner, this Information came from a founder named William James who is (as he says) now building a Furnace for M^r James Delancy about four miles distant from the City and knows the servant as by the Advertisement the man had more then three years to serve when he absconded and have his Indentures to Produce. In case the said servant be in New York and to be had I would chuse to sell him there and would send his Indenture.

In case I may have Paid me cleere of all charges Ten Pounds Current money of New York, otherwise I would have him secured till I send for him I shall be glad to hear by the first Return of the Post in Relation hereto.

Sent by M^r Sumans to his Father at New York

Annapolis September 17th 1743

Sir

Inclosed are the under noted first Bills of Exchange amounting to £58 sterling with which I desire you will Creditt me in account or Return if Protested. There is allso inclose a Bill Ladeing for forty Ton Pigg Iron in the ship Penelope John West master the nett Proceeds Whereof when sold you are to Carry to the Creditt of my account.

We might hope that Pigg Iron would Raise in Value but Under Six pounds Ten shillings ꝓ Ton We would not have it sold Hope you will Endeavour to serve us what you can therein. . . .

John West on you	£ 3.. 10.. 0
Thomas Wheelar ditto	9.. 10.. 0
Mord ^a Price on Addams	5.. —.. —
Jas Stuarkey on Tower	4.. —.. —

Jo ⁿ Harding on Geo. Strange	6.. —
Ditto on Ditto	5.. —.. —
Nicholas Haile on Jo ⁿ Jones	25.. —

£58.. 0.. 0

To Mr Samuel Hyde Copy by Capt. Randal 20th 7^{br}

Annapolis October 2^d 1743

Sir

I have ocaion for Two or Three Hundred Bushells of Wheat now directly and understand that the Current rate is three shillings ③ Bushell If you will suply me that Quantity or four Hundred Bushels directly at the above rate I will take it and send for the same as soon as I have Your answer and send at the same time the Ballance of the money.

Please to let me have Your answer ③ the Bearer Samuel Burman.

In case you can Suply me and can Send it into your next Mill on Sarsafrass to be Ground I shall be obliged and pay in money for Grinding Six pence ③ Bushel they making Good the Weight of the Wheat sent in, of which request you'l have on acct^t Taken. . . .

Shall expect Good Wheat not Under sixty pound ③ Bushel

To Mr Heath

Cap^t Satterwhite

I want Four Hundred Bushells of Wheat delivered at a Convenient Mill on Bohemia for which so delivered I would pay in ready Currant money Three Shillings ③ Bushell provided it Weighed Sixty pound ③ Bushel and not under, and I would pay for Grinding the same Six pence Currant money ③ Bushell they to deliver my Intire Weight without deceit.

In case you can meet any that will contract with you to deliver & Grind so that I may have it in two Weeks or Three you may and I will send for the Meal & send the money.

I wrote you lately that may expect the sooner for the flower the Middle of the month or sooner let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Annapolis 8^{br} 2 1742

P. S. If you can get the Wheat to Bush Creek Mill on the Manner if a Good Landing on the within Terms it will answer me.

Annapolis October 5th 1743

Sir

This day I received Yours dated the 29th of September last & Mr Lee, and shall gladly do him any acceptable friendly office in my power; as I should any other on your recommendation & in point of Justice not being confined to Country for I look on all to be Citizens of the World tho Where two or more are to be served one may be preferred.

In regard to the Gentlemen you mention come to Philadelphia, She is certainly mistaken in the Person; by Pitching on me for an Uncle nature having left it Impossible that I should have such a relation, having had but one Brother Who died Unmarried and She is likewise Mistaken in the circumstances of my Son liveing with her Uncle at Lisbon. In the Year 1734 I was with my son put in (by stress at Sea) to Lisbon and the Child being much Fatigued with the Voyage I left him there at the English College on Bacco Alt Under the Care of M^r Edward Jones the President of the same College and I am apt to belive he never lay a night out the College during his stay there nor do I know of any Relation I had at Lisbon, there was a Gentleman of my name a Merchant there and a Lady Who was a Professed Nun at the English Nunnery at Bethelm but wither any was Related to me as I know I assure you Sir I never thought poverty a Scandall nor think the Less of a Friend or Relation for being Poor for I am but too sensible of the of Fortune to Suppose that Learning

Courage Wisdom and all other Virtues may not be covered with Raggs, Yet in my opinion ought not to be the Less Esteemed, but notwithstanding this I do not think my self obliged to give Ear to an Impertinent or Groundless Claim nor will the circumstance of my Fortune permit me to be lavish, and I very well know all the Relations I have Who are Intituled to a Just Claim on me.

I hope I shall stand fully Excused in your good opinion that I take no other notice of the Gentlemen then to Recommend to her to be Better provided with circumstances and certainly in her next claim of Kindred. . . .

To The Rev^d Mr Richard Archbold at Bohamia In Cecil County

Annapolis Maryland October 19th 1743

Sir

I Received Mr^s Elis^a Carringtons of the 10th of July last with goods vidz the Quantitys of Casks &c but the contents no way agreeable to me the Sugars short in Weight and the rum scarce Proof these are discouragements Exclusive of the high price to deter from correspondance. Rum has been Sold at Philadelphia from Two Shilling and four pence to Two Shillings and Ten pence that Currency which at the lowest Exchange is Sixty Two and half ³/₄ Cent on Sterling and Sugars Equally good with the best of Yours at five and forty Shillings ³/₄ C^t no Charge for Casks Dutys &c which render Yours Excessive.

From what such difference proceeds I am at a Loss Unless ye Use those People better than Your correspondents from this Place for sure they cannot Carry on a Trade and sell Cheaper than Bought. The Article of Portarage and Storage at 3 ³/₄ C^t amounting to £14 I have Your Letter that no such Article should be charged in the Course of Business this with the Article of Interest I Expect you will Credit my Account, and in Our further Dealings Either Endeavour to serve me better

or I must Intirely decline a Business by w^{ch} I am too much a Looser.

Some of the Barrells of Sugar tho no apearance of being Pillaged or mollasses rum want a 100 lbs some fifty some Sixty pounds of the quantity Charged me In Nett Hundreds of five score to the Hundred. The Master Mate and men Utterly denyes any Ill usage to them on their part Wherefore the Loss must proceed from Short Weight if so you ought to make good and realy the Quallity of the rum as to Low Prooff is unsufferable, I hope you will sett me right in these respects I very unwillingly Change a Correspondent. I am Loading my Vessell and perhaps for Your Island in hopes of better Treatment which I you will Judge to be justly due . . .

To Mr Coddington Carrington Merchant in Barbadoes

Maryland November 10th 1743

Sir

Inclosed are the Undernoted Bills of Exchange amounting to £62.. 14.. with which I desire You will Credit my Account.

I Request You will make an Insurance for me of five Hundred pounds Sterling on the Scooner Annapolis of Maryland and Cargo John Satterwhite Master or Whoever shall be Master for this present Voyage my Self owner at and from Maryland to the Island of Barbadoes and Untill there Unloaded w^{ch} Insurence not being Back I hope you will get at an Easier Premio which with the charges place to my Account . . .

	£	s	d
Daniel Dulany on Self	18..	14..	0
Will ^a Mattingly on you	24..	0..	0
Charles Gloyoe on Will ^a Hunt	20..	0..	0

£62.. 14.. 0

To Mr Samuel Hyde & Captain Russell & Dick

Credit me allso with the Inclosed Bill of John Say^r Blake on Self £50

P. S. I have ordered Mess^{rs} Chambers and Baker Merchants in Maideras to Draw on you for a Pipe of Wine to be shipped me w^{ch} when comes to hand I desire you will pay . . .

Maryland November 11th 1743

Sir

Inclosed is a Bill Lading for four Hogsheads Tobacco and Dan^l Russells Exchange on Self for £8.. 17.. 18.^d with the late please Creditt in account, & make the most of the former for my Intrest, and the neat proceeds carry to the Creditt of my account also, I desire you will by your first Ship this way send me Two Hundred y^{ds} of good Welsh Cotten one peice of green Napt Penniston Three peeces of Blew half Thick and the Cost and Charges of them charge to the D^r of my Acocunt w^{ch} will add to Your favours done . . .

To M^r William Black

Maryland 9^{br} 10th 1743

Gent

Inclosed is Charles Carrolls Exch^a on ye for £12 with which I desire ye will Creditt me in account on the 3^d Inst I drew on ye payable to Thomas Catten for five pounds Six Shillings w^{ch} I desire ye will pay when the same becomes due according to the date thereof & Charge to my Account.

I did in the begining of our Summer think our Crops would be short but by seasonable Weather has been much Increased beyond all Expectation. So that I believe Tobacco will be plenty to Load Ships this next Summer than has the last . . .

To Mess^{rs} Philpott & Lee London 7^d Russell & Copy's p^r the
Dorset Cap^t Dick

Maryland November 24th 1743

Sir

I have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange on you payable

to Henry Baker Each for Fifty pounds Sterling One dated the 18th Instant, and the other the 19th both (which being drawn at Sixty days Sight) I desire you will pay & charge to my Account.

By the Baltimore w^{ch} will sail the latter End of this month you will hear further and have Remittance . . .

To M^r Samuel Hyde

Annapolis Maryland November 30th 1743

Sir

I Wrote you Sundry times but have not been favoured with a line from you. In one I advised you to send a power of Attorney to M^r Samuel Groom in Relation to your Debts to Whom I deliv'r'd your list and Notes Except M^r James Harris's which he said he would pay, and I doubt not but his Exta's will, the Bill Wherein Snowden was concern'd did not come to hand.

The Bearer hereof M^r Richard Witherhed being a Gentleman Resident^t here will be good opportunity to let me hear from you, and by whom I desire an Account of sales of my Barr Iron and an Account Curr^{tt}

In case the Deed Sent you can be Executed M^r Witherhead will be a good Evidence and an Opportunity to send them to me in Case of any Ballance to you on the Execution of those Deeds your money shall be in little time Paid in any Returns you desire I have not further to add till I hear from you . . .

To M^r Tho^s Hutchinson, Boston

Annapolis December 4th 1743

Gent

I wrote you lately in Relation to whats due to me for the ore taken from North East in Baltimore County this last year and hope for your compliance therein.

I must Still Repeat my complaint of your overrunning the

Ore in the Bank and covering the best of the Ore in the Bottom Measure w^{ch} will render it Impracticable for me to Recover the same wherein you not onely act contrary to common Justice but the Rules of friendship w^{ch} I would gladly Support with ye.

I would gladly have an opportunity of seeing ye that these Matters may be in an Amicable Manner adjusted w^{ch} I hope ye will give me an opportunity of doing . . .

To Mess^{rs} Edw^d Neal & Ralph Falconer

Maryland December 10th 1743

Gent

On the third of Last November I drew on ye for five pounds Six Shillings Sterling payable to Thomas Catton, and of this date to Lance Todd for Ten pounds Sterling both which when comes to hand, I desire may be duely Honour'd and charged to my Account.

I shall have Ocation to give my Bills on ye payable to your Selve's for forty pounds Sterling to be carried to the Creditt of Tho^s Sligh's Account wth ye to w^{ch} when comes to hand (drawn at Sixty days Sight) I desire ye will give due Hon^r

In case the goods I Wrote for are Shipt and any Ballance becomes due on the payment of these Bills you may be asur'd of a Speedy Remittance & suitable Acknowledgement . . .

To Mess^{rs} Philpott & Lee
London

Annapolis in Maryland December 12th 1743

Sir

Inclosed are Bills Loading and Invoice of Two Hundred Barrells of Flower, Ten Thousand Shingles Thirteen Hundred Thirty five Bushells of Indian Corn One Hundred Ninety one & half Bushells Black Eyed pease in the schooner Annapolis Joel Hutchison Master, in the Sales Whereof Expect your best Endeavor for my Service, Whatever the Flower Sels for Less

than Twelve Shillings and Sixpence p^r Hundred the Corn for four Shillings p^r Bushell or the Pease for five Shillings p^r Bushell or the Shingles for Thirty Shillings ʒ Thousand I shall be a Looser, Wherefore hope you'l Act the best, or this must be my last Attempt your Way.

The Shingles will certainly keep and I chuse you to do so rather than sell them Under the New England Shingles do not come up to them in Quallity I Expect the Vessell will gett to your Island before the Fleet sails to Sallitudes and have therefore Ordered the Master to go down wth the Fleet under useuall Convoy and there to take in a Load of Salt & with best despatch after, to Return here.

I must desire your favour to forward him in this Voyage all you can, and therein to Use the frugallity and dispatch needfull.

The men are all paid here so that no Advance on that head is Needfull. In case the Master goes the aforesaid Voyage you are to Suply him with a Hogshead of Rum & a Barrell of Sugar for w^{ch} take his Rec^{tt} he has Barrow's Provisions and Baggs from hence Wherefore little be wanting there Except the useuall Gratuity to the Commander of the man of Warr that goes Convoy, with Whom I desire you will give Small Credit for the Master Orders from Sallitudes if he should want any Assistance there as the hire of hands.

In case the Fleett be gon before the Vessell gets to you I shall be glad if you could Employ her a Turn to the Main for Timber if you think that my Interest Untill your Crop be Ready but If you do not Judge that for my Interest & Rum be at any Moderate Price you may dispatch her Back here with the Produce of her Cargo in Rum in this Matter must refer to your Own good conduct not doubting but you'l Act the best for my Interest.

I Received yours of the 3^d of October last and was glad to hear of your Safe Arrivall with your Family where I wish you Happyness and good and perfect Health I shall have no Doubt of your Integrety and while Enabled to carry on any Business

Very unwillingly change my correspondence wth you Pork is not to be bought here for what it would sell wth you.

I Request you will urge the Master to his Duty & dispatch. Endeavour to keep the men Sober & cleer of Press I referr my self to your good care . . .

To Mr Coddington Merch^t in Barbadoes

Maryland December 6 1743

Sir

I was favoured with yours of the 24th of June last in relation to my Son, who has the good fortune to be under your care and hope by your favour his Morralls and conduct will be such as may Still merriitt your Aprobation.

It is however a Pleasure to me to find by yours that if he will not make a bright Schollar he may a Virtuous man. I Likewise flatter myself that you will Endeavour to Emprove the Talent he has for Learning in the best manner and promote his Aplycation to Study's.

In case his Genius will admitt my desire would be for his Studying the Common Law of England when done with you, toward's w^{ch} If you will contribute your Advice to him in such Studys as may be most conducive there. It will add to the favours conferr'd on him . . .

To The Rev^t Mr Pet Goddard at Clare Hall, Cambridge

Annapolis Maryland 16th 1743

Sir

I was favoured with yours of the 12th of July last Inclosing a Letter from Mr Goddard & my Son for w^{ch} I return many thanks and have Inclosed two Letters for them w^{ch} I Request the favour you will forward in a secure manner.

The Bearer Mr Jacob Giles a Gentleman of our Province intending to see you I have given the care of this Letter which

hope will come Safe to your hands. I must Still Request y^r Continuance of your friendship to my son and your Correspondence with me and hope to hear from you by the bearer or some other good Opportunity.

Pray my kind Respects to M^{rs} Woodward and Accept of the same from [me] . . .

To M^r W^m Woodward

Maryland December 16th 1743

Sir

Inclosed are the Undernoted Bills of Exchange am^o to £152.. 18s which when Paid please to Credit me in Account as allso Bills Lading for 12 Hhds of Tobacco in the Baltimore which when Sold please allso to Credit my Account with the Neat Proceeds. I am Sensible that there will be a Ballance due from me w^{ch} the Lowness of Tobacco and the failing of Rogers has prevented my Receiving Bills this Year to Answer, many making that an Excuse to me and I have made a purchase of some Commodious Lands for a Scheme w^{ch} I hope to make answer in time w^{ch} has taken up Some money and Ocationed my drafts on you.

I must Still Esteem Your friendship as well to my Self as my Son who I recommend to Your Notice. I think with the next Return of the Baltimore from hence to see you in Britain and by that Time to make everything Satisfying to you as I hope it will not be less, so in the meantime being allwy's willing to allow a Reasonable Intrest to your Satisfaction on any sum I shall be in Ballance I desire that by the Baltimore or some other Convenient Ship—You will send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice in goods and the amount of them Charge to my Account.

I have on the 13th Instant drawn on you payable to James Johnson for Nine pounds Seven Shillings and on the 15th to John Todd for Ten pounds and an Order of this date to William Mudge and C^o for Twelve pounds Seven Shilling & four pence,

and Bills of Exchange to John Harryman for fifty pounds at Sixty days Sight w^{ch} I desire you will pay and Charge to my Account. . . .

	£	s
To Bernett Bond on Andrew Reed	105..	15.. 0
To Terningham Biggs on you	47..	3.. 2

£152.. 18.. 2

To Mr Sa. Hyde & Cap^t Bigg. Copy By Rock

X^{br} 26th

Stationary

3 Reams good Writeing paper

6 papers Ink powder

Milliner

Two Womens Genteele Black Velvett Hoods wth Lace made Fashionable

Wollen Draper

200 Yards best Welsh Cotton

2 peeeces Green Naped permiston

3 peeeces Blew half Thick

Grocery

12^{lb} good Bohea Tea

1^{lb} good Hyson Tea

Cordage

9 & 6 Thread Rattling a Whole Coil of Each

Inch & ½ & two Inch Rope a Whole Coil of each

a Whole Coil of four Inch shroul Haulser

20^{lb} Sewing Sail Twine

Iron Ware

1 Dozⁿ Grass Scyth Blades

1 Dozⁿ Large & Middling Seized Frying Pans

1 Dozⁿ good Stronge pad Locks with hasps & Staples

Hatter

2 Dozⁿ Mens Felt Hatts Large Seize

1 Dozⁿ Boy's Ditto

Hoseier

- 1 Dozⁿ Womens Large Yarn Hose Red & Blew
- 2 Dozⁿ Mens Strong Yarn Hose
- 2 Dozⁿ Mens Double Worsted Caps

Haberdasher

- 12^{lb} Colloured Sewing Thread
- 6^{lb} Brown Sewing Thread for Oznabriggs
- 2^{lb} Whited Brown Thread

Annapolis January 12th 1743

Inclosed is a Letter from Mr Edward Rumney, Who has Assigned me all the Outstanding Debts and goods in your hands left by him by your Letters to him dated 26th of December. I observe you write there is 700^{lb} pork Received and about Ninety pounds due and Severall goods in hand.

I desire that you will Sell the Rest of the goods as fast as you can for Corn or pork which you can the Readiest gett that is for Corn at Two Shillings ☉ Bushell to be delivered you and pork as Mr Rumney had Ordered which I suppose is Twenty Five Shillings ☉ Hundred. What pork you gett let it be well Salted and Barrelled and pray gett the Corn as Soon as possable and make Sale of the Remainder of the goods with what Speed you can. Let me know by the first Opportunity what time I may send for the Corn & pork and send a Duplicate of Your Letter Least miscarriage.

I hope you will hereby Observe that the Intire property of those Debts you have made and the Remainder of the goods is in me. Your care and favour herein will much Oblige me and may procure a further correspondance.

Please to let me know what the amount of the value of the goods in Your hands and outstanding Debts may be your commission Deducted. . . .

To Captain Michael Holland J^r
on Annamessex in Sommersett County

Annapolis January 12th 1743

Sir

I Received your favour of the 20th of December and both yours of a former date by Your Skipper and am much obliged for your favour about my Sketch of a Sloop am of opinion that Mr Letherberry's own Draft will best answer and will therefore Employ him to build me one that will carry fourty hogsheads of Tobacco with Long Hatches but not ceild. If he will take Forty pounds in Gold and I to find Iron work and in case he will putt Mulberry Timbers in I will give him five Pounds more in the like Species which I think is Near, or in full the Price he asks and I shall not want her before March 1745 which will give him a full year to finish her so that he may make her the Better.

In case he aproves hereof and will let me have the Demen-tions of the Barr Iron which will suit him and the Quantity I will send it him by some Opportunity Next Summer.

I have no Barr Iron to suit nor do I want Shingles that Commodity being Plenty at Present, I am apt to believe that Your Scooner is frozen up at the head of Severn.

I must Still Request the Continuance of your good Offices by Sending the Inclosed to Captain Michael Holland Junior by some Safe hand. . . .

To Mr Robert Jenckins Henry
In Sommersett County

 Annapolis January 19th 1743

Sir

I Received yours of the 13th Instant, which should have been Sooner Answered but was from Town. The Land is Called Addition to Charley Forrest and is Pattented for 1470 Acres it was taken up by Coll^o John Bradford and by his heirs at Law & those deriving under him convey'd to me by good and Sufficent Deeds so that the Tittle does not Require much Tracing. It was taken up at a time when few Serveys ware

made in them parts and there has been vacant Land taken up about it since wherefore I conceive there is no defect that way.

The Possession has been in me for Some years and my Tenants have never been Questioned nor myself as to the Survey or Title and I believe both to be as cleere as any Land in the Province of Maryland.

In case you Incline to Purchase my Price is Thirty pounds Sterling ⁷/₈ Hundred Acres under which I will not Sell I could have often sold for more If I would Sell in parcells w^{ch} Trouble I do not Incline to take. There are few such Tracts of Land to be had & its only the distance from my Other Intrests w^{ch} Induces me to Sell.

My Business is such that it do's not Suit me to appoint any other place than this Town to Transact the matter where you shall be welcome to see the Deeds and Patant it not being convenient to carry such about and here you may Consult, Also Gentlemen Learned in the Law as to the Title.

I make no other Warrantee than from me and mine and with that you will have as good a Title as the Law can give, and better no man can desire. If I knew any defect I would not putt it into yours or any Other Gentlemans hands both in point of Justice Since I flatter myself that I could make the same good as well as an other. I shall be glad to Oblige you in the matter . . .

To the Rev^d Mr John Eversfield

Mr Michael Holland

I Wrote you the 12th of last month that Mr Edward Rumney had assigned me the goods and outstanding Debts due him in your hands and care, and now haveing this oportunity of Cap^t Parker in Mr Rumney's Scooner I desire you will send by him what Corn or pork you have Received takeing his Receipt for the same to be delivered to me at Annapolis on Patapsco.

I desire you will allso let me have an Account of the Value of What goods are Remaining after in your hands and what

Debts may be due: which goods I desire you will sell for Corn as soon as possible at Two Shillings p^r Bushell and the Debts get in with what speed you can. I hope for your care in this Respect . . .

Annapolis, February 3^d 1743

JUDGES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS OF MARYLAND

SINCE THE REVOLUTION
WITH THE COUNTY OR CITY TO WHICH EACH WAS ACCREDITED
WHEN APPOINTED OR ELECTED, AND THE
PERIOD OF SERVICE OF EACH.

(Note: The following list has been compiled, primarily, with a view to completing, as far as possible, a collection of copies of portraits of the judges which was begun by the late Judge Henry Stockbridge. The name of each judge of whom the court now has a portrait, is marked*. Some difficulty has been experienced in ascertaining to what counties the earlier judges were accredited, and it is quite possible that there may still be errors in the list in this respect. Corrections in any of the facts stated, and assistance in obtaining other portraits will be appreciated by the present judges. Communications may be addressed to Judge Carroll T. Bond, Court of Appeals, Annapolis, Maryland.)

Benjamin Rumsey, Baltimore (now Harford)	
County, Chief Judge,	1778-1806
*Benjamin Mackall 4th, Calvert County,	1778-1806
Thomas Jones, Baltimore County,	1778-1806
Solomon Wright, Queen Anne's County,	1778-1792
James Murray, Dorchester County,	1778-1783
	or 1784
*Richard Potts, Frederick County,	1801-1806
Littleton Dennis, Somerset County,	1801-1806
*Jeremiah Townley Chase, Anne Arundel County,	
Chief Judge,	1806-1824
James Tilghman, Queen Anne's County,	1806-1809
William Polk, Somerset County,	1806-1812

Richard Sprigg, Prince George's County,	1806-
Joseph Hopper Nicholson, Baltimore County,	1806-1817
John Mackall Gannt, Prince George's County,	1806-1811
*Richard Tilghman Earle, Queen Anne's County,	1809-1834
John Johnson, Prince George's County,	1811-1821
John Done, Worcester County,	1812-1814
William Bond Martin, Dorchester County,	1814-1835
Walter Dorsey, Baltimore County,	1817-1823
*John Buchanan, Washington County,	1806-1844
Chief Judge,	1824-1844
*John Stephen, Prince George's County,	1822-1844
*Stevenson Archer, Harford County,	1823-1848
Chief Judge	1844-1848
Thomas Beale Dorsey, Anne Arundel County,	1824-1851
Chief Judge	1848-1851
Ezekiel Forman Chambers, Kent County,	1834-1851
Ara Spence, Worcester County,	1835-1851
William B. Stone, Charles County,	1844-1845
Samuel M. Semmes, Allegany County,	1844-1845
Alexander Contee Magruder, Prince George's County,	1844-1851
Robert N. Martin, Frederick County,	1845-1851
William Frick, Baltimore County,	1848-1851
*John Carroll LeGrand, Baltimore City, Chief Judge	1851-1861
*John Bowers Eccleston, Kent County,	1851-1860
*William Hallam Tuck, Anne Arundel County,	1851-1861
*John Thomson Mason, Washington County,	1851-1857
*James Lawrence Bartol, Baltimore City,	1857-1883
Chief Judge	1867-1883
*Brice John Goldsborough, Dorchester County,	1860-1867
*Silas Morris Cochran, Baltimore City,	1861-1866
*Richard Johns Bowie, Montgomery County, Chief Judge	1861-1867
Associate Judge	1871-1881
Daniel Weisel, Washington County,	1864-1867

Peter Wood Crain, Charles County,	1867
*James Augustus Stewart, Dorchester County,	1867-1879
*Richard Henry Alvey, Washington County,	1867-1893
Chief Judge	1883-1893
*Richard Grason, Baltimore County,	1867-1882
*John Mitchell Robinson, Queen Anne's County,	1867-1896
Chief Judge	1893-1896
*Oliver Miller, Anne Arundel County,	1867-1892
*Madison Nelson, Frederick County,	1867-1870
*George Brent, Charles County,	1867-1881
*William Pinkney Maulsby, Frederick County,	1870-1871
*Levin Thomas Handy Irving, Somerset County,	1879-1892
*John Ritchie, Frederick County,	1881-1887
*Daniel Randall Magruder, Calvert County,	1881
*Frederick Stone, Charles County,	1881-1890
George Yellott, Baltimore County,	1882-1889
*William Shepard Bryan, Baltimore City,	1883-1898
*James McSherry, Frederick County,	1887-1907
Chief Judge	1896-1907
*David Fowler, Baltimore County,	1889-1905
*John Parran Briscoe, Calvert County,	1890-1923
*Henry Page, Somerset County,	1892-1908
*Charles Boyle Roberts, Carroll County,	1892-1899
*Andrew Hunter Boyd, Allegany County,	1893-1924
Chief Judge	1907-1924
*George Mitchell Russum, Caroline County,	1896-1897
*James Alfred Pearce, Kent County,	1897-1912
*Samuel D. Schmucker, Baltimore City,	1898-1911
James A. C. Bond, Carroll County,	1899
*Isaac Thomas Jones, Howard County,	1899-1907
Nicholas Charles Burke, Baltimore County,	1905-1920
John G. Rogers, Howard County,	1907
W. Laird Henry, Dorchester County,	1908-1909
William H. Thomas, Carroll County,	1907-1924
Glenn H. Worthington, Frederick County,	1908-1909
John R. Pattison, Dorchester County,	1909-

Hammond Urner, Frederick County,	1909-
*Henry Stockbridge, Baltimore City,	1911-1924
*Albert Constable, Cecil County,	1912-1919
William H. Adkins, Talbot County,	1919-
T. Scott Offutt, Baltimore County,	1920-
W. Mitchell Digges, Charles County,	1923-
Carroll T. Bond, Baltimore City,	1924-
Chief Judge	1924-
Francis Neal Parke, Carroll County,	1924-
William C. Walsh, Allegany County,	1924-

THE MOTTO OF THE CALVERTS, BARONS OF BALTIMORE.

Fatti Maschii Parole Femine

BY FRANCIS B. CULVER.

At the request of Matthew Page Andrews, author of the *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, which is just off the press, the writer submitted to Dr. Andrews a brief explanatory statement concerning the significance of the heraldic motto of the Calverts, "*Fatti Maschii Parole Femine*," to the following effect:

"It has been variously interpreted. A polite rendition makes it mean 'manly deeds, womanly words.' The alliterative expression 'courage and courtesy' has also been suggested, but these are euphemistic paraphrases and not the true rendering of the original.

"I believe that the motto was derived from some proverb formerly in common use among the Italian masses, connoting 'Deeds for men, words for women,' or 'Let women talk, men act.' Variant forms of the proverb were common in the Piedmontese, Lombard, Sicilian and other dialects, as well as in the pure Italian, and all bore the same connotation.

"It should be added that 'femine' (from Latin *femina*) is

correctly spelt in modern Italian with the letter 'm' doubled, but the spelling in the motto is old Italian or medieval," which survived as an occasional writing until about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although it may produce a shock to our modern refined sensibilities through the dissipation of the generally accepted interpretation, it is evident that the motto was a vulgar or popular adage implying a somewhat contemptuous turn and reflecting the attitude of an age less "polite" with respect to the female of the species.

This opinion is corroborated by the Tuscan form of the saying which actually contains the verb "are": to wit, "*Le parole son femmine e i fatti son maschi.*" The Lombardy version is: "*I fatt hin mas'c, i paroll hin femmen,*" and the Piedmontese has it: "*li fat a son masc e le parole femmele.*"¹ In other words, "deeds are for men (*masculine*), words are for women (*feminine*)."

By reason of his education, his early travels in Europe and his subsequent public employment as a government official Sir George Calvert, the first Baron of Baltimore, was thoroughly versed in the language and possibly the literature of Italy, and was, in consequence, conversant with the familiar sayings of the natives of that land from which he appropriated, in lieu of an English legend, the motto which he chose for his paternal coat of arms.

¹ Petri: *Proverbi Siciliani*, II, 245.

RINEHART'S WORKS.

To the Editor of The Maryland Historical Magazine.

Sir:

Since the appearance of the article, Notes on the Life of William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December 1924, a number of your readers have kindly added bits of information or called my attention to errors.

Mr. James A. C. Bond of Westminster reports a marble mantel in the library of a local house, built during the sculptor's early life and formerly the residence of Col. John K. Longwell, now the residence of Mr. George W. Albaugh. Col. Longwell is authority for the Rinehart attribution. The writer, who has been counsel at law for many years for the Rinehart family also suggests a meeting, with promises of Rinehart reminiscences—an invitation which will be accepted as soon as I can get to Baltimore.

Mr. George Shipley writes that a recumbent figure of *Jessie*, infant daughter of Richard W. Tyson, should be added to the list of works. This work was made in Rome between 1861 and 1862, and is now owned by Mr. Tyson's daughter, Mrs. E. A. Marshall, Roslyn, Maryland.

Mr. J. Appleton Wilson calls attention to the memorial bas-relief in the Wilson lot at Greenmount Cemetery, made for the writer's father about 1849 or 1850, when the sculptor was still with Bevan and Sons.

Miss Kate G. Brooks speaks of a bas-relief, a replica of *The Smokers* by Teniers, in the possession of her family. She has a card from Mr. S. T. Wallis authenticating the work; while you, Mr. Editor, called my attention to a reference to the "replica" in the Works of Severn Teackle Wallis, Vol. I, p. 175. (Since the above was written the work has been deposited at the Peabody Institute.)

Mr. Waldo Newcomer does not believe Rinehart ever made a bust of Mr. B. F. Newcomer, his father. He also says that the sculptor did not make a "bust" of his sister, Mrs. H. B. Gilpin, but a full-length figure, when she was six or seven years old, which work is still in her possession.

Finally, I must speak of the work of Rinehart in St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, to which my attention was called by Mr. Daniel R. Randall, and by another correspondent, whose note was unfortunately lost in a disastrous fire last winter. Mr. Randall writes that the colonial church was burned down in 1857, the present building being erected on the same site in 1858, with Mr. Nelson of Baltimore as architect. Rinehart made "the carved capitals of the six stone columns and four pilasters of the nave and later the stone altar and baptismal font—also in limestone. The capitals are plain, formal pieces of a square Doric design, but the altar and font are as beautiful in design and detailed carving as anything of their kind, certainly in this country. The altar, about seven by four by four is elaborately decorated with its carved mouldings and panels, and bears upon its front panels in relief three of the sacred emblems of Christian faith. The font is in the form of a goblet, square base with fluted column support, the bowl elaborately carved and bearing upon its sides the four symbols of the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—the lion, ox, eagle, and angel. I am writing from memory as to the date of this work, but recall well how my father, who was the Senior Warden and largely responsible for the beautification of the Parish Church, would speak with enthusiasm of Rinehart's work, and his fortune in securing the services of this great artist."

While in Rome this summer I scouted around in the Via Margutta quarter in order to pick up any information about Rinehart's studio career. A pamphlet in the Peabody Library, which lists the effects sold from the sculptor's studio after his death, put me on the track. Translated freely, the title of the pamphlet is, "List of Effects of the late W. H. Rinehart,

American Sculptor, for the First and Second Public Sale, to be held on Tuesday, 16th and Wednesday, 17th of March 1875 at 1 p. m. in the Sculpture Studio Via Margutta 53B, that is, in the Studio of Painting and Sculpture of Marquis Patrizi, Everything to be Knocked down for Cash to the Highest Bidder, and according to the Usual Regulations." This palazzo as well as its neighborhood is still full of the studios and atmosphere of artists. The British Academy of Arts, for example, is in the very building. Its Director, Professor Sciortino, 22 Via Margutta, courteously tried to aid me. We interviewed a very aged marble cutter in the neighborhood, who "remembered the name," but no more; and with more hope, the "boy" who attended the Professor's studio—he "remembered the face," but admitted that after fifty years of faces which came and went the impression was not vivid. He thought, however, the Rinehart studio was on the ground floor to the right of the court. Since all the sculptors necessarily had ground floor studios, and the right hand is more propitious than the left, the guess was a safe one. Professor Sciortino finally advised communication with the Academy of St. Luke, to which Rinehart may well have belonged, for any data their files might contain.

Miss Eva Barrett, photographer, suggested writing the Marchesa Patrizi, the present owner of the palazzo, and hoped that her pride in the history of her building might overbalance her usual custom of denying interviews. I am following the suggestion. Miss Barrett also referred me to Signor Diego Angeli, who is compiling the history of the Café Greco, the artist rendezvous of the quarter for many years. I await his response also.

Incidentally, I was interested as I visited the Roman museums to pick out works which recalled Rinehart's precious style, and which he may well have known. My list came to include the well-known Stuart Memorial in San Pietro, some memorial figures in the only Roman cemetery, Campo Verano, a *Figure with Immortelles* (cast) in the vestibule of the Foro

Museo, and an *Eros* (cast) at the Academie Francaise (Villa Medici). When in the British Museum, I remarked the relation already noted between the Townley *Endymion* and Rinehart's study of the same subject.

And so, Mr. Editor, the matter stands in this way. As soon as I can plumb such wells of information as suggested by the Marchesa Patrizi correspondence and the Bond interview, I am very hopeful that I can add still further to the fullness and accuracy of my Notes.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK.

Hanover, N. H.,
October 8, 1925.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,

May 11, 1925.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary submitted a written report stating that through Messrs. Lamar Hollyday and William L. Ritter the Society had been presented a collection of 1123 original applications for membership in the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States; a minute book of the Executive Committee of that Society, for 1878 and a book containing descriptions and contracts for the Confederate Monument at Winchester, Virginia and at Loudon Park.

It was reported that Dr. J. Hall Pleasants had secured through the Milligan family, a collection of interesting letters of Anna Maria Tilghman to her Cousin Mary Pearce, about 1775-1790. The collection also includes letters of great historical interest, from "Stonewall" Jackson, R. S. Ewell, Robert E. Lee, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, Mrs. M. C. Meade, mother of General Meade, and a letter of Henry Carroll, dated June 20, 1755.

Miss Elizabeth G. McIlvain has presented to the Society a collection of manuscripts of John McKim, consisting of commercial papers, account books and private correspondence.

The following persons, previously nominated to Active Membership were elected:

Miss Annie C. Levis,	Ferdinand B. Focke,
John H. Orem, Jr.,	Mrs. Thomas B. Clarkson,
Richard W. Worthington,	Francis X. Milholland,
Miss Carolina V. Davison,	Miss Elizabeth T. Davison,
Jesse T. Dowling,	Alfred J. O'Ferrall,
Mrs. William M. Ives,	Victor Wilson,
James C. Johnson,	Douglas Thomas,
Mrs. Catherine Bowie Clagett Thomas.	

and those elected to Associate Membership were:

Comtesse Jean de Sayre and H. C. Tilghman Hough.

The President reported that on May 7th, the anniversary of the death of the late Mr. H. Irvine Keyser, the Society had sent flowers to his widow and a very graceful note of acknowledgment had been received from her.

The President also reported that on Tuesday the 26th instant, the Society will have as its guest the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City, on which occasion Mr. Horace Wells Sellers of Philadelphia will give an illustrated lecture on "Charles Willson Peale."

The following deaths were reported from among our membership:

John H. O'Donovan, J. Frank Turner, J. Soule Rawlings.

The following resolution was introduced, seconded and duly carried:

"It having been reported that the city is about to purchase the Old Friends' Meeting House and the surrounding lot at the corner of Aisquith and Fayette Streets, for use as a public playground;

"*Resolved:* That this Society earnestly desires that in taking possession of said property, the old building and the enclos-

ing wall may be preserved in their present condition as far as may be, and that any repairs found necessary for the preservation be carried out in such a manner as to leave the work essentially as it is.

"Few landmarks in Baltimore have been preserved which renders those remaining still more valuable from a historic standpoint. Griffith's *Annals of Baltimore* on page 88 says: 'Messers John Cornthwait, Gerard Hopkins, George Matthews, John and David Brown and others, of the Society of Friends, buy a spacious lot and build a meeting house between Baltimore and Pitt Street where they inter their deceased members.' This was in 1781, sixteen years before the City was incorporated and eighteen years before the death of General Washington. Tradition has it that this Meeting House was used as a hospital for the wounded after the battle of North Point in September 1814, which makes it doubly interesting and worthy of preservation.

"*Also Resolved:* That a copy of these resolutions be sent to His Honor, the Mayor, and a copy to the Board of Park Commissioners."

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Miss Harriet P. Marine, who read a paper entitled, "James Beatty, Navy Agent, Baltimore, during War of 1812."

May 26th, 1925.—A Special Meeting of this Society was held tonight with the President in the chair. The Society had as its guest the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City.

The following persons, previously nominated, were elected to Active Membership in the Society:

D. John Markey,	Miss Rosa Steele,
Mrs. Victor Dulac,	Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield,
Mrs. William Price Shuler.	

and those to Associate Membership were:

Mrs. Russel Hastings, John Baker White,
Mrs. Henrietta D. Sheppard.

The President reported that Mrs. Ida M. Shirk of New York has requested that her Associate Membership be changed to Life Membership. Upon motion, duly seconded, the resignation of Mrs. Shirk as an Associate member was accepted and she was unanimously elected to Life Membership.

The President spoke of the honor to this Society in having as its guest the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City. He then introduced Mr. H. Irving Pollitt, President of the Eastern Shore Society.

President Pollitt, on behalf of his Society, expressed his appreciation of the privilege. He then called upon Mr. John P. Low who reported for the Summer Trip Committee.

Mr. Radcliffe, Chairman of the Historical Committee, gave a brief sketch of the work of that Committee and introduced the winners from the different counties of the Eastern Shore, as follows:

Mr. Arthur L. Rairigh, from Caroline County.

Mr. William McCauley, from Cecil County.

Mr. Westbrook Evans, from Dorchester County.

Miss Katherine E. Cockey, from Queen Anne's County.

Miss Nina K. Laird, from Somerset County.

Miss Elizabeth Vorwald, from Talbot County.

Miss Dorothy Bounds, from Worcester County.

Three delightful musical numbers followed.

Mr. Gale, Secretary-Treasurer of that Society, introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. Horace Wells Sellers, of Philadelphia, who gave an extremely interesting lecture on "Charles Willson Peale," illustrated by lantern slides. Mr. Sellers is a great-grandson of Peale.

President Harris thanked the Eastern Shore Society for their most delightful entertainment and invited that Society to view the exhibits of the Historical Society at the close of the meeting.

October 12th, 1925.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with the President in the chair.

The minutes of the last regular meeting of the Society on May 11th, and the minutes of the Special Meeting on May 26th, were read and approved.

The following persons having been previously nominated for Active Membership were elected:

Llewellyn A. Digges and Miss Maud Bowie Cary.

Mr. John Wesley Brown presented as a supplement, a catalogue of the Ship Model Exhibition, which he asked to have added to the report of the Exhibition of the Marine Committee of the Maryland Historical Society.

The following deaths were reported from among our membership:

Hope H. Barroll,	Albert L. Richardson,
Martin E. Ridgley,	William J. Parran,
G. Morris Bond,	Edwin W. Levering,
John E. Semmes, Sr.,	Mrs. R. Curzon Hoffman,
A. Dallas B. Courtenay,	Miss Annie Lynch.
Charles E. Manger of E.,	

The President introduced the speaker of the evening, Colonel Alfred T. Smith of the General Staff, U. S. Army, who gave a "Talk on South America with particular reference to the Argentine Republic," illustrated by colored slides.

NEW BIOGRAPHICAL CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

The Biographical Congressional Directory is now in process of revision by the Joint Committee on Printing, and in order to complete some of the sketches, questionnaires have been widely distributed. Many records have been completed but others still lack some desired details, and we hope by the publication of this list to secure the necessary information concerning Maryland Representatives and Senators. Information may be sent direct or to the editor of the *Magazine*.

Robert Alexander, member of the Continental Congress, 1775.

Wanted dates of birth and death.

Elias Brown, 1793-1857. Wanted, place of interment. (Of Balto. Co.)

John Brown, Member of house, 1809-1810. Full details wanted.

William Carmichael, -1794. Cont. Cong. 1778-79. Dates of birth and death. (Died in Spain in 1794.)

John M. S. Causin, 1811-1861. Day and month of birth. Place of Interment. Full name.

Samuel Chase. Place of birth. Education.

Gabriel Christie. 1755-1808. Day and month of birth.

William H. Cole. 1837-1886. Middle name.

Jeremiah Cosden. Place and date of birth; place and date of death.

William Craik. Date of birth; place and date of death.

Henry Winter Davis. Place of interment.

Clement Dorsey. Date of birth; occupation after leaving Congress; place of interment.

James Forbes. Cont. Congress, 1778-1780. Place and date of birth, any other data; place of interment.

George Gale. 1st Cong. 1789-91. Place and dates of birth and death.

- James P. Heath, 1777-1854. Middle name; schooling; occupation.
- John C. Herbert. 14th and 15th Congresses. Middle name; dates of birth and death; place of interment.
- William Heyward. 18th Congress, 1823-1825. Place and dates of birth and death; occupation; place of interment.
- William Kimmel. 45th Cong. Day and month of birth.
- James Lloyd, 1797. Dates of birth and death; occupation; place of interment.
- William Vans Murray. Day and month of birth; place of interment.
- William McCreery. 8th, 9th and 10th Congresses. Place and dates of birth and death; occupation; place of interment.
- William Matthews. 5th Congress. Place and dates of birth and death; place of interment.
- Thomas Plater, 7th and 8th Congresses. Place and dates of birth and death; occupation; place of interment.
- Thomas George Pratt, 1804-1869. Place of interment.
- Richard Ridgely. Cont. Cong. 1785-86. Place and dates of birth and death.
- John Rogers. -1789. Date of birth; schooling; place of interment.
- James Washington Singleton, 1811-1892. Place of interment.
- John Wethered, 1809-1888. Place of interment.
- Turbutt Wright. Cont. Cong. 1781-82. Place and dates of birth and death; occupation; schooling; place of interment.
-

CORRECTIONS, NOTES, ETC.

In the Proceedings of the Society, published in the June number, there was a statement concerning the public services of General Shepherd Church Leakin. General Leakin was commissioned Captain in the 38th U. S. Infantry, May 20, 1813. He was commissioned Major, June 13, 1818, and Lieut. Colonel, January 14, 1822. He was later interested in the development of the State Militia, in which he held various commands.

Genealogical and biographical records of the Banning and allied families. Prepared for Miss Kate Banning. The American Historical Society, n. p. 1925.

A sumptuous volume, with numerous coats of arms in color, and photogravure illustrations of the Mayflower and of scenes in connection with the coming of the Puritans, but without table of contents or index! The allied families mentioned are Bradley, Thompson, Vicars, Bird, Skidmore, and Sparrow. Presented by Miss Kate Banning.

Descendants of Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr. Louisville, Ky., 1925. Pp. 208.

The editor in his preface, says: "I have with pleasure and with the assistance of many members of the family added to the memoranda of names collected by Wm. B. Hollingsworth of Baltimore and printed in 1884, corrected some errors, and no doubt made others. Corrections and additions will be appreciated." An index covers 35 pages and is apparently, adequate. Presented by J. Adger Stewart, the editor.

The Old Americans. By Aleš Hrdlička. Baltimore, 1925. Pp. 438. \$10.00.

This work is the result of fourteen years study, physically and physiologically of the Old American Stock. "By 'Old

Americans' are meant in general those American whites who have been longest in this country," and the author includes under this term those Americans whose ancestors on each side of the family were born in the United States, for at least two generations. This work is a monument of patient erudition, but it is not likely to appeal to any but students of anthropology.

Spain's Title to Georgia. Herbert E. Bolton. Pp. xvii, 382. University of California Press, 1925. \$4.50.

This valuable study of American historiography is based on Arredondo's *Demonstración Historiographica*, 1742, the Spanish text of which, together with an English translation, is incorporated in the work. Eight maps and a bibliography add to the interest and value of the story, which is interestingly told.

American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music. Frank J. Metcalf. N. Y., The Abingdon Press. 1925. \$3.00.

For many years Mr. Metcalf has been gathering materials relating to the development of Church music in America and has published a number of biographical and critical articles on the writers, composers and compilers of hymns and hymn tunes, much of which is now incorporated in the present volume. A number of these relating to the work of Baltimore musicians is of local interest. Mr. Metcalf's *American Psalmody*, published in 1917 in a very limited edition, went out of print immediately on publication.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick. Vol. 4, Albany, The University of the State of New York, 1925. Pp. 898.

This volume covers the years 1763, 1764 and 1765. The disastrous fire of 1911 destroyed totally or in part a great mass of the Johnson Papers, and the text of part of them has been secured from other sources.

Geographia Americae with an account of the Delaware Indians, based on Surveys and notes made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström. Translated by Amandus Johnson. The Swedish Colonial Society. Philadelphia, 1925. Pp. 418.

The Swedish Colonial Society is to be congratulated on this its latest contribution to our colonial history, the greater part of which, by the way, has been the work of Dr. Johnson. This work was prepared for the press in 1918, but the manuscript was destroyed by fire before being sent to the press. The work is much more than a mere translation of Lindeström's productions and contains an appendix of Indian geographical names. The book is well illustrated and forms a valuable contribution to American history and Archaeology.

A History of Halifax County, Virginia, by Wirt Johnson Carlington. Richmond, 1924. Pp. 520.

This work will be welcomed by genealogical workers, as it appears to be well done and quite comprehensive. The index, which covers but four pages, is entirely inadequate for a book of this character and seriously handicaps the use thereof.

The Jesuit Martyrs of North America. John J. Wynne, S. J. New York, 1925. Pp. 246. \$1.50.

The first connected and complete story of the American martyrs. Whether in sympathy with missionary endeavor or not, one can not fail to be thrilled at the heroism of these missionaries who seem to have been insensible to the most dreadful suffering and torment.

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VOLUME XLIV (Assembly Series, Volume 21)

PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY (1745-1747)

This volume of the Archives is now ready for distribution. The attention of members of the Society who do not now receive the Archives is called to the liberal provision made by the Legislature, which permits the Society to furnish to its own members copies of the volumes, as they are published from year to year, at the mere cost of paper, presswork, and binding. This cost is at present fixed at one dollar, at which price members of the Society may obtain one copy of each volume published. For additional copies, a price of three dollars is charged.

This volume carries on the legislative records of the Province for three years of petty bickering and faultfinding between the Governor and the representatives of the people. In 1745, several popular bills were vetoed by Governor Bladen who had lost his hold upon the Assembly and, forgetting his dignity, scolded the Delegates. On their part, they were fussily insistent upon their privileges. The main object of summoning the new Assembly in 1745 was to secure an appropriation for the garrison at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island—a fortress recently brilliantly captured by the New England provincial troops and the British fleet. The Lower House tacked on to a bill for this purpose a provision for a Provincial Agent in London. The Upper House denounced this tacking and, as the Lower House refused to recede from its position, the bill failed. The proceedings as to three contested elections are of interest, and a large number of yeas and nays votes are recorded, which afford a method of ascertaining that the Eastern Shore and Annapolis generally belonged to the Proprietary Party, while Southern Maryland was Anti-Proprietary. In March, 1745/6, another new Assembly met, summoned because of the Jacobite Rebellion in England and of the fear that the Iroquois might shift their alliance to the French, but nothing was done.

The Assembly again met in June, 1746 and failed to pass bills for the purchase of arms and ammunition, for the regulation of officer's fees, and for the administration of bankrupt's affairs, owing to dissension. Ordinaries were directed to be taxed to provide funds to carry on the war in Canada. In November a brief session passed a law for the purchase of provisions for the troops raised in the Province. Governor Samuel Ogle returned to Maryland and, succeeding Bladen as governor, met with the Assembly in May 1747. A long session of nearly two months resulted in the passage of twenty-eight acts, some of which were of very considerable importance: such as an assize law for trial of matters of fact in the county where they may arise and a tobacco inspection law, which was included in a measure for the regulation of official fees. A tax was also laid on tobacco exported so as to purchase arms and ammunition and another tax for the use of the Governor. The sale of strong liquors, the running of horse races and the tumultuous concourse of negroes during the Quaker Yearly Meetings on West and Tred Avon Rivers were forbidden. A two day session in December 1747, was fruitless, as the Delegates refused to make an appropriation for the war. At each session, the question of setting apart the western part of the Province as Frederick County came up, but was not yet settled.

A brief appendix contains, among other documents, a petition from Elkridge, showing how little men had a vision of Baltimore Town's growth, and a quasi passport to four Germans wishing to return to Europe for a visit.

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Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore, Md.,
for October 1, 1925.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis H. Dielman, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. Editor, L. H. Dielman, Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md. Managing Editor, none. Business Managers, none.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent. or more of the total amount of stock should be given.)

Maryland Historical Society. W. Hall Harris, President; J. Appleton Wilson, Corresponding Secretary.

No stock. Organ of Maryland Historical Society. Educational and scientific.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

Louis H. Dielman,
Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this eighth day of October, 1925.

[Seal]

Edwin T. Sickel,
Notary Public.

My commission expires May 2, 1927.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Members of the society are requested to solicit contributions of books, maps, portraits and manuscripts of historical value or importance, particularly such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of Maryland.

The Society will become the custodian of such articles of the above character as the possessors may care to *deposit* should they be unwilling to give them, and will preserve them in the fire-proof vault.

Any book or pamphlet written by a native or resident of Maryland or in any way relating to Maryland, will be gratefully accepted and preserved.

FUND PUBLICATIONS.

A limited number of the Fund Publications are for sale by the Society. A priced list will be mailed on application to the Secretary.

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Volumes 1 to 44 of the Archives are on sale by the Society at \$3.00 per volume; except volume 18, \$5.00 per copy.

